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California JOURNAL

December 2002
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Once again, will he be liberal or moderate? Crusader or cautious?

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An ugly election

The postmortem of an election is often brief. Reporters and campaign staff have vacations planned; losing candidates disappear and winners prepare for their jobs. This year, the desire to forget an especially ugly campaign is even greater. Unfortunately, this race needs a postmortem more than most because its results raise important questions about the health of California's democracy. As this special election issue of *California Journal* reports, voter turnout reached a record low and spending was a record high. Latino participation fell sharply and the critical issues facing the state were largely missing. Perhaps it will be better next time. Then again, as the Spanish and American philosopher George Santayana said, "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it."

David Lesher

Envisioning Davis
For a politician with 25 years of experience in Sacramento, there are still a lot of questions about what Gray Davis will do in his second term.
By Greg Lucas

Election 2002
Republicans made the governor's race close and gained in the Legislature. But even with many ugly races, our comprehensive results and analysis of key races makes clear that California remains a solid state for Democrats.

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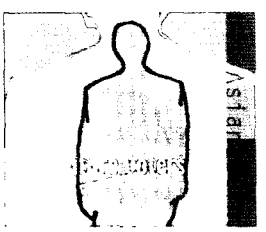
California Judging
Not everybody in the Republican Party is happy about it, but when it comes to selecting judges for the federal district court bench, the Bush White House has decided to work with California's two Democratic senators.
By Michael Doyle

Election 2040, who is voting?
A study by the Public Policy Institute of California looks ahead at the ethnic makeup of the state electorate in 2040 and finds white voters still remain the only group that is over represented at the polls.
By Jack Citrin and Benjamin Highton



Tourists Wanted
A model of government and industry cooperation helped California's $75 billion tourism business avert the disaster it feared after last year's terrorist attacks.
By Lisa Plendl

Cover: By Dagmar Thompson

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umbrage

Unz-ified. The governor's race in Massachusetts featured two candidates who barely differed at all on the issues — with one exception. And that exception was an initiative to end bilingual education in Bay State schools. The measure was pushed by Californian Ron Unz — who brought the same notion to his home state as Proposition 227 back in June 1998. The Unz initiative turned out to be very significant. Republican Mitt Romney backed it; Democrat Shannon O'Brien opposed it. Romney won with 50% of the vote. The initiative passed with 68% of the vote, and some credit it for carrying Romney across the finish line in first place. Meanwhile, a similar version of the initiative failed in Colorado where well-funded opponents included the governor and both U.S. senators. Their message seemed a bit over the top; they warned that passage would put Latino and white kids in the same classroom and disrupt the education of "your children."

Breathless. That would describe Election Night coverage by some pundits who looked at early returns from California and proclaimed an "upset in the making" because with nearly a third of the vote in, Republican Bill Simon led incumbent Democrat Gray Davis. CNN anchors, including Judy Woodruff and Bill Schneider, consumed a lot of air speculating on a Simon victory. Even local anchors in Sacramento picked up the mantra until former KCRA Capitol reporter Steve Swatt, doing a guest stint at his old alma mater, cautioned that many of those early returns were from Republican counties. As Swatt correctly pointed out, virtually no returns had been reported from heavily Democratic precincts in Los Angeles, Alameda or San Francisco counties. The early Simon boomlet was an illusion which anyone could have seen — provided they understood California and had bothered to look at the "county status" section of the Secretary of State's Web site.

The first Noel. That would be Noel Irwin Hentschel of Los Angeles, owner of a mega travel agency who has dabbled in Republican politics. Her most notable dabble came in 1998 when she finished second to Tim Leslie in the 1998 GOP primary for lieutenant governor. Last month, Hentschel was among nine recipients of the 2002 National Caring Awards, presented in Washington, D.C., by The Caring Institute, founded to honor the legacy of Mother Teresa. Two of her co-honorees were Maya Angelou and Paul Newman.

Nancy Pelosi celebrates her victory as House minority leader along with outgoing minority leader Dick Gephardt.

Brendan McDermaid. Reuters

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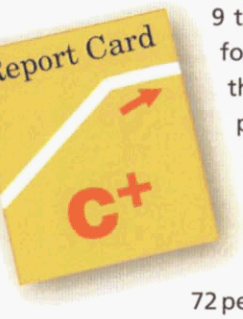
Population:

Teen birth rate drops

For the first time in more than 20 years, California teenage girls had fewer babies than the national average, state health officials reported recently. The birth rate for girls between ages 15 and 19 has now dropped four years in a row, due mostly to an aggressive media campaign and significant funding for medical care and contraception. California has long reported one of the highest teen birth rates in the nation, a trend that started to change when former Governor Pete Wilson invested in a campaign that promoted sexual responsibility on billboards, TV ads and other venues. The program has continued under Governor Gray Davis. As a result, in the past four years, the rate has dropped more than 15 percent. Last year, 52,966 babies were born in California to teen mothers. "It is a significant achievement that affects not only the lives and futures of our youth, but the lives of the people of California," said Grantland Johnson, secretary of the state's Health and Human Services Agency.

Education Watch:

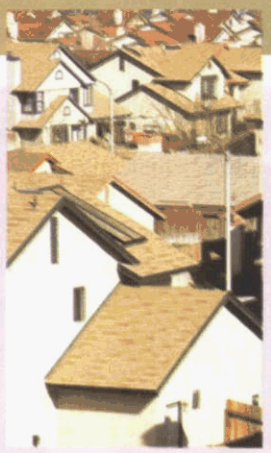
Slow but sure



California schools are improving, but not as quickly as they did in recent years, according to the latest release of the state's Academic Performance Index. The fourth annual API, which measures school performance based on Stanford 9 tests and other exams, found more than half of the state's schools improved enough to meet their academic targets last year. Two years ago, the success rate was even higher with 72 percent of schools reaching their academic goals. This year's results was also good news for the nearly 400 underperforming schools that faced state sanctions if they missed their API target score. All but 22 avoided penalties.

Growth:

Californians squeezing in everywhere



The Inland Empire won top honors in a recent national study. It is by far the nation's worst example of urban sprawl. Second place wasn't even close on the sprawl-o-meter, an index created by researchers from Rutgers and Cornell universities that includes 22 indicators such as housing density, job access and location of services. A score under 100 on the sprawl-o-meter was below average. The Inland Empire's tally was 14.2. Ventura, Los Angeles, Long Beach, San Diego and Sacramento also scored below average. Clearly, growth is a major issue in California. San Francisco Mayor Willie Brown's recent State of the City speech emphasized the division sparked by his pro-development stance. And elsewhere, an October report from the California Budget Project warned of an affordable housing crisis if more homes aren't built. California has the nation's fourth lowest rate of homeownership, it said, and 1-in-4 renters pay over half their paycheck on housing.

Quotables.....

"Where we can find our common ground ... we shall seek it. Where we cannot find that common ground, we must stand our ground."

— San Francisco Rep. Nancy Pelosi, selected 11/14 as House Democratic Leader, the first woman ever to win the top congressional post for a major party.

— Compiled by CJ Editors

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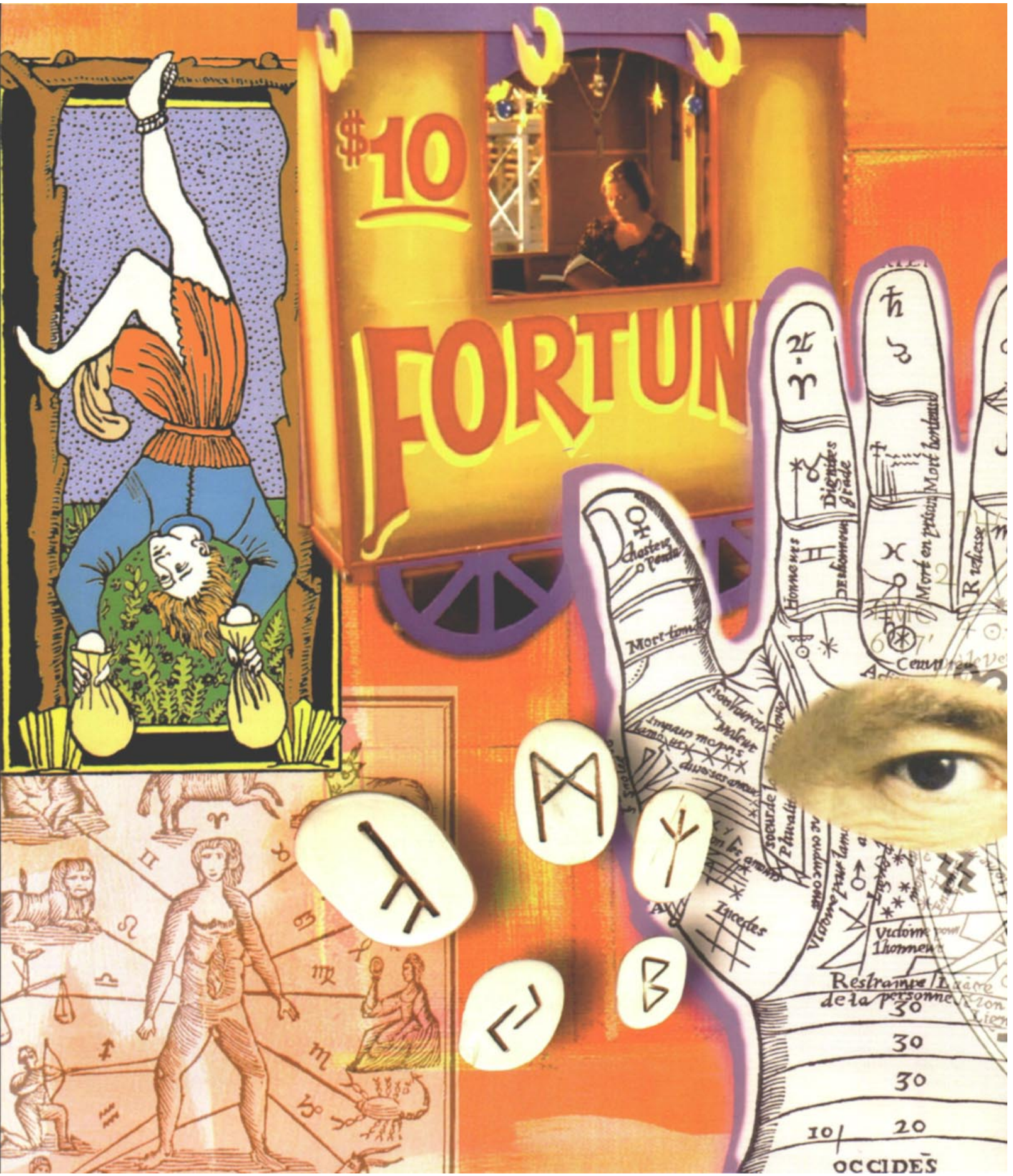

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Envisioning Gray Davis

Will he change and be more involved or remain cautious and aloof? Will he move left or stay in the center? Gray Davis begins his second term as governor with a surprising number of questions for a politician who's worked in Sacramento more than 25 years.

By Greg Lucas

Gray Davis has a vision.

It took him four years, but he's finally got one.

He didn't have one when he became governor back in 1999 and managed to irritate all 120 of the state's legislators by saying they existed solely to implement his vision.

Back then, he said education was his first, second and third priority. That's not vision. That's a spending choice. Keeping the lights on in 2001? A desperate prayer, perhaps. Vision? No. This year, any vision was focused on the tape at the re-election finish line.

Until about mid October.

Whether it was polling results or personal epiphany, the man who for four years described himself as incremental, the man who said he governed like he golfed — one swing at a time — laid out an agenda.

He did it in a 30-second campaign commercial, so it wasn't exactly laden with specifics. But it was definitely what President Bush's daddy called the "vision thing." The commercial was called "Together."

In it, the Democratic governor thanks Californians for their hard work, which has made the state

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the fifth largest economy in the world. Government has to do its part to keep things moving forward, Davis says.

"We must continue fighting to improve our schools. We must invest in transportation to move people and goods more efficiently. We must protect our quality of life with affordable health care, a cleaner environment, safe streets and safe working conditions. Together, we can make California even better."

Ancient tools for modern Soothsaying

Looking for a way to anticipate Gray Davis' next step? Well, the ancient tool used by centuries of soothsayers may come in handy. Since Gray Davis has a December 26th birthday, that puts him born under the sun sign of Capricorn. Since the sun sign is often the governing sign in an astrologoical chart, the characteristics below may help guide in forseeing Davis' next step.

Capricorn Sun Sign

The Capricorn is a mythical beast, with the head, front legs and torso of a goat, and the tail of a fish. Accordingly, this is a sign with two natures.

The most commonly known side of Capricorn is that described by the combination of the goat, Saturn and the earth element. This is dull, materialistic practical, unimaginative, serious and cautious. The Capricorn is the ideal industrialist or merchant, letting no humanitarian concerns interfere with the important business of making money. Of the goat, it is said there are two kinds: the first remains in domestic captivity, tethered to a post, the second is the wild mountain goat, leaping from peak to peak. The first will work hard to be rewarded with a position of minor responsibility, while the second becomes a captain of industry, the multimillionaire of western capitalism.

However, the tail of the Capricorn rests in the water, revealing quite another dimension to this sign. Capricorns harbor powerful emotions which, as this is an earth sign, they may find difficult to express. Materialistic Capricorns need to understand and accept these feelings if they are not to be a problem. If these feelings are not acknowledged, they will nag until given adequate expression.

Together with these emotions Capricorns possess all the other qualities of the water element, positive and negative, healing power and great visions, but also the tendency to deception and the ability to manipulate.

Source: "The Practical Astrologe" by Nicholas Campion. Published by Harry N. Abrams, Inc. 1987

During his first term, Davis — sometimes of his own volition, sometimes after a swift kick by the Democratic-majority Legislature — took significant actions in all those areas. He signed some of the toughest gun control laws in the country, standardized assessment of pupil progress in public schools, lowered the approval threshold for local school bonds and ordered state regulation of greenhouse gases.

But many of those issues started elsewhere and landed on his desk. This was the first time he made it sound like a coherent, intentional game plan. Here's where we're at. Here's where we need to go. Together.

"Maybe he got it toward the end of the campaign that part of leadership is providing a broader vision of the future instead of each step, every step, every day along the way. It's the only time I've ever heard anything like that from him," said Mark Baldassare, pollster for the Public Policy Institute of California.

Whether Davis can implement his vision instead of just articulating one is the question that greets him as he begins his second term in January.

He has held various offices in Sacramento for more than 25 years. But entering what may be his last assignment in state government, Davis remains an enigma. Will he be moderate or liberal? Cautious or crusader?

Four years ago, when he was first inaugurated, the biggest question in Sacramento was whether he would live up to the centrist image he portrayed in the campaign or whether Davis, a lifelong champion of labor, farmworkers, teachers and Latinos, was actually a leader of the left. Ultimately, Davis zig-zagged between the center and the left.

Now, he begins his second term with many of the same questions.

But even with the vision thing going, how does he implement it in the face of daunting budget shortfalls, no mandate from his narrow re-election victory and a weak relationship with the Legislature?

For California governors, the second term is legacy time. For a few, it's a chance to break into the national scene. Davis has a shot at going national. His record-shattering fund-raising alone puts him on the vice president list.

"Being California governor, you're automatically on the list until you're taken off. But I don't think he has any personal ambition to go there. He really has his dream job," said Susan Kennedy, Davis' powerhouse cabinet secretary.

Most Californians would be hard-pressed to quickly recall the legacy of the governorships of Pete Wilson, George Deukmejian or even Ronald Reagan. Jerry Brown — Governor Moonbeam — didn't exactly leave office in the best light. Jerry's dad, Pat Brown, is really the last governor with an easily recallable legacy. Pat Brown was a builder. Freeways. Universities. The California Aqueduct. Big stuff for a big state.

Gray Davis won't be morphing into a hearty backslapper like Pat Brown over the next four years — or the next

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40. As insiders know, he came to the governship self-centered and aloof and that's how he'll leave. After Davis was elected, an interest group asked its lobbyist how close he was to the governor. "As close as anyone," the lobbyist replied.

Davis is aware of his cold reputation and has repeatedly asked Californians to judge him on performance, not likeability. Supporters say there's more to the governor than people think.

"He hasn't gotten credit for what he's done and he gets blamed for things that aren't his fault," said John Mockler, formerly executive secretary of Davis' Board of Education.

To a number of Capitol denizens, it seemed like the highest public policy goal of the Davis administration over the past four years was good PR for the governor. The tepid editorials endorsing him for re-election lay out his rap sheet pretty well: Busier hoovering up campaign contributions than governing the state, they said.

"He showed up for work occasionally," grumped Senate Republican Leader Jim Brulte of Rancho Cucamonga of Davis' first term. "This state is going to need strong executive leadership, and so far we haven't see it."

Reactive, several editorials said. As evidence, critics say Davis blew off the energy crisis while it was still confined to San Diego and, as a result, saddled businesses and consumers with the largest electricity rate increase in the state's history.

Capitol insiders also say he's been AWOL legislatively — either never taking a position on a bill until it reached his desk or scrambling at the last minute to kill some measure.

He refused to engage in last summer's budget stalemate, leaving legislators to largely work out the differences over a $24 billion deficit by themselves. And when Davis administration officials sought help killing a bill to prohibit insurance companies from owning auto repair shops, one Assembly member complained that for six months he had asked what the administration's position was on 12 of his bills and never got an answer.

To say Davis' relationship with John Burton, the irascible Democratic leader of the Senate and the most powerful man in the Legislature, is prickly is vast understatement.

Assembly Speaker Herb Wesson said this term he wants "more dialogue between all of leadership. The governor has got to bring us to the table and bring us there earlier and focus on things we share."

Not exactly the ideal skill set for cementing the ironclad legislative alliances necessary to guarantee your eight years ring down the halls of history. But he is the governor and he's not dumb. So he has power and the acumen to wield it.

There will be some new people helping him wield it. Every second term has personnel changes.

Chief among the rumored departures is Kennedy, whose loss will greatly thin Davis' bench. Kennedy, along with Tim Gage and Betty Yee, the top dogs at the Department of Finance, have been the glue that puts together the budgets. Kennedy also has awesome political instincts, gleaned from years at the California Democratic Party.

Chief among the rumored departures is Susan Kennedy, whose loss will greatly thin Davis' bench.

"I've never seen anyone receive, digest, understand and be able to articulate concepts and some details faster than Susan, except maybe Willie Brown," said Phil Isenberg, a former Sacramento Assembly member turned lobbyist and periodic Davis adviser.

Davis' chief speechwriter is leaving and several cabinet members are expected to do the same. Grantland Johnson, at the health and human services agency, is interested in running for Darrell Steinberg's Assembly seat in 2004. The administration has also talked to termed-out Democratic Assemblyman Fred Keeley about a variety of jobs.

"The team assembled now is one the governor is comfortable with and [it is] comfortable with the governor. I'd hate to break up that old gang of mine, but I would be surprised if some didn't leave. It's inevitable," said David Rosenberg, a Yolo County supervisor and senior adviser to Davis.

Whoever works for Davis in his second term has one primary problem — budget shortfalls as far as the eye can see. The Legislative Analyst predicts that, absent major corrective action, every budget from now until nearly the end of Davis' term will have either a double-digit billion dollar hole or close to it.

Next year, the projected gap between money coming in and spending commitments is at least $21 billion, including a $6 billion shortfall in the current year budget and $15 billion more in spending commitments than anticipated revenue.

"Certainly the first year and maybe the second year will be overwhelmed by budget considerations. It's unavoidable. It doesn't matter whether you're an incrementalist or a visionary, the magnitude of the problem will be the same," said Isenberg.

This year, Davis and lawmakers filled a $24 billion budget hole primarily with loans, transfers, rake-offs and one-time fixes. That money's gone, which leaves two ways to bring spending in line with resources — raise taxes and

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cut spending.

Outside observers and Davis factotums — at least *privately* — say the only way to fill the hole is with some tax increases — never Number One with a bullet on the legacy playlist. Last year, Davis proposed increasing what people pay now in auto license fees. He'll probably do so again — if not in January when he lays out his initial spending proposal, then in May, when he refines the plan with updated economic data.

so I know he's going to put a lot of thought into what he wants to accomplish, regardless of whether we have money."

Davis has already said he wants to split larger high schools into smaller academic units to foster some of the benefits of lower class size in grade school. That's do-able, potentially without additional spending, but the powerful California Teachers Union has already said it opposes the idea.

Davis has also said he wants to provide every child

"Education is the governor's favorite topic, so I know he's going to put a lot of thought into what he wants to accomplish, regardless of whether we have money."

— Susan Kennedy

Under previous budget deals, the fees have been reduced more than 65 percent since 1998. Earlier this year, Davis proposed returning them to what they were his first year in office, which would still leave the fees 25 percent lower than they were in 1998. Boosting the fees yields roughly $1 billion each fiscal year.

Davis also pitched a 50-cent-a-pack tax on cigarettes this past year. He may well do that again. He even backed a $2.13 cigarette tax hike last summer when that appeared to be a budget deal closer in the Assembly. It wasn't, and in the end, the Assembly rejected both the fee increase and cigarette tax.

Combined, the cigarette tax and the license fee increase would solve only $1.5 billion of this year's problem.

Now what? Business groups privately pitch a sales tax increase since they can pass the cost onto consumers. Labor unions favor higher state tax brackets for persons earning more than $130,000.

Davis didn't like either idea last year. He may find them more palatable now.

Of course, increasing taxes requires legislative approval. Assembly Republicans showed no signs of backing any tax increases this year, and the Democrats' ability to find one pliant Republican vote in the Senate are greatly reduced with the departure of Maurice Johannessen, who broke with his GOP colleagues on this year's budget deal.

Budget approval requires a two-thirds vote in both houses of the Legislature, forcing Democrats to win a few GOP members. Some unions are considering a ballot measure for 2004 to allow budget approval on a majority vote. But that's a long way off for Davis.

Given who he is and the steaming budget offal on his plate, what can Davis do except say "no." Plenty, Kennedy says.

"There's lots of decision-making to be made within existing resources, even within this budget climate," Kennedy said. "Education is the governor's favorite topic,

with health care, but he cautions that might be "too ambitious" because it carries a price tag.

Some Davis advisers say the administration will take a bigger role in land use and growth issues.

"Other than budget stability — that's the elephant in the living room — I would expect our focus to be on infrastructure. Public works and issues that California faces as a result of population growth," said Rosenberg.

California is growing like topsy with 550,000 to 600,000 new residents each year. Unlike states like Oregon and Maryland, California has taken few forays into championing smart growth, leaving such divisive issues to local officials and local ballots.

Environmentalists would welcome Davis taking a big role on growth issues. Sprawl is at the top of the agenda for environmentalists.

"What we're hearing from our volunteers is an increased level of concern about growth and land use problems. People are worried about what's happening to their quality of life," said Bill Magavern, a Sacramento lobbyist for the Sierra Club.

Although growth issues can entwine with the mess that is the fiscal relationship between the state and local government, mapping out a sensible plan for California's growth can be a showcase issue.

Former Maryland Governor Parris Glendening made it one. He and lawmakers created a sweeping program in 1997 that targets most public works spending to "smart growth areas" and offers tax credits for businesses that invest in such areas.

"Growth issues aren't very partisan in nature and they don't involve taxes. You can develop proposals that are attractive to both developers and environmentalists," said Baldassare. "That could be Davis' best hope."

Greg Lucas is Sacramento Bureau Chief for the San Francisco Chronicle. *Comments may be sent to* **edit@statenet.com.**

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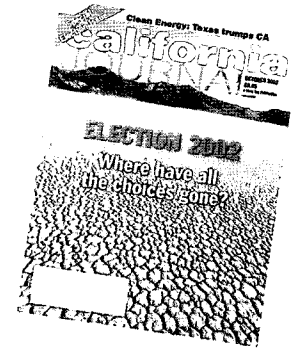

A comprehensive look at the trends, issues and increasingly global reach of the biggest farm state in America.

agriculture

Commuters, developers, local government and business have a major stake in the decisions this issue will explore regarding roads, transit and infrastructure.

transportation

The top concern of California voters, education continues to undergo fundamental assessment and change.

educatio

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How to win a campaign for governor

After a race that was closer than expected, the question is whether a different strategy might have produced a different outcome.

By David Lesher

Let's play campaign manager in this year's race for governor. The goal, of course, is to get more votes than your opponent. You start with a base number of votes in your party, giving Democrats an edge in California because they have 45 percent of registered voters compared to 35 percent for Republicans. In this race, though, the base is surprisingly shaky for both candidates. It'll need some attention.

Republican Bill Simon, a rock solid conservative, has managed to soften his base with internal GOP fights and a reluctance to mount a more aggressive attack on Davis. Conservatives want to see somebody plaster this governor they so despise. Simon's attacks look more like sleeping gas.

Davis, meanwhile, is a lifelong champion of Democratic base groups like minorities, unions, teachers and environmentalists. But they've been disappointed by his aloof and centrist leadership. In mid-campaign, he has a public falling out with the state's biggest teachers union, followed by a vote in the Legislature's Latino caucus to not endorse him.

So the base vote is going to be a distraction for both campaigns, but, as always, the real battle is over swing voters — somewhere between 20 and 40 percent of the electorate depending on the candidates. They could go either way. And remember, they're the most fickle.

As a manager, you've got two separate strategies to deploy — the positive and the negative.

For Simon, the positive is that you have a fresh-faced, citizen politician who wins an upset primary victory in March. The early media analysis compares Simon to Ronald Reagan in 1966, the last California outsider to score an upset victory over an incumbent Democratic governor. Your negative weapons are also considerable. Voters are well aware that Davis has presided over an energy crisis and a shaky economy. And the media is focused on the frequent controversies about his record fund-raising effort.

For Davis, the positive is experience and incumbency. There's also been modest improvement in school test scores and health insurance coverage; record spending on transportation and landmark legislation on the environment, gun control and family leave. Among the negative attacks: Simon's family investment firm has numerous legal tangles; Simon's also inexperienced and hasn't voted in more than a dozen elections during the past decade. Finally, he's out of step with California voters on key issues like abortion, gun control and the environment.

Before you decide how to win this match, remember that when the general election race starts on March 6, voters know almost nothing about Simon. Also, Davis already has $30 million, but Simon has personal wealth.

In general, these were the conditions given to Sal Russo, campaign manager for Simon, and Garry South, the top strategist for Davis. Now that the campaign is over, numerous postmortems have analyzed their decisions. *California Journal* has compiled the major observations and explanations here:

- Davis was more vulnerable than anyone expected. Voters were so unhappy with his performance — starting with last summer's energy crisis — that Davis sources say their attempt at positive television commercials about his record in office were ineffective. Strategically, that caused them to focus even more aggressively on negative attacks.
- The shape of Election 2002 was determined when Simon didn't follow his primary victory in March with a series of events and television commercials to introduce himself to voters. Since he stayed silent, the first major coverage about Simon to reach the fickle swing voter was about his refusal to release his income taxes, followed quickly by problems at his family firm involving a tax shelter investigation and a jury's fraud verdict. By then, Simon lost the ability to sell a positive message about himself and was left with a strategy that relied on attacking Davis.
- Davis outspent Simon roughly 2-to-1, a much bigger gap than anticipated. The governor finished the race with $68 million, shattering expectations and previous records.

Governor

Davis (D*)	**3,457,382**	**47%**
Simon (R)	3,096,255	42%
Guike(AI)	124,908	2%
Camejo (G)	380,482	5%
Copeland (L)	157,541	2%
Adam (NL)	86,117	1%

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Meanwhile, Simon's campaign never really knew how much money the candidate would contribute. He ended up giving $11 million, nearly half of it in the primary. But early comments from Republicans and campaign staff reflect an expectation that he would spend much more.

• Since the election, Russo and others have acknowledged publicly that Simon's campaign was split internally. One group, brought in after the primary, advocated a "pay-to-play" attack on Davis regarding the ethics of his fund raising. The other group, including Russo, backed a "three-by-three" strategy that focused on energy, the economy and quality of life issues like traffic and education.

• The race was unexpectedly close. Exit polls suggest one reason is that the candidates never really did win the swing voters; many of them just stayed home or they split between the two. Meanwhile, in this record low turnout, Republicans made up more of the electorate than their share of the state's registered voters. Democrats, meanwhile, voted at their registration level and independents voted well below their level.

Could Simon have won? That's the question that haunts a Republican Party struggling to prove its viability in California. We'll never know. Had the race been about policy issues instead of personal character, Davis would have probably used abortion and the environment to portray Simon as an extremist while the Republicans would have used energy and the economy to describe an incompetent governor. But when you play the game of campaign manager, it's clear this one could have gone differently.

David Lesher is editor of California Journal. *Comments may be sent to* **edit@statenet.com.**

The Election Performance Index

California is getting a bad habit. The more money its candidates spend, the lower the turnout on Election Day. Once again, this year's race for governor shattered two of the biggest records in the campaign business — money and turnout.

The costliest race in California history — and perhaps the most expensive state campaign ever — saw the two major party candidates spend more than $100 million. Meanwhile, the state's lowest turnout ever saw barely 1-in-3 eligible adults cast a ballot.

If we wanted to create an Election Performance Index (EPI) to measure the health of the California democracy it would certainly include these two categories. The more money involved in campaigns, the more candidates are excluded from the race and the more beholden the officeholder is to special interests. Likewise, fewer voters in an election undermines the authority of politicians to lead and the ability of an election to produce a representative government.

Consider that this year's winner, Gray Davis, is preparing to lead a state of nearly 34 million people on the strength of 3.4 million votes.

So the EPI calculation for the 2002 election would show that Democrat Davis and Republican Bill Simon spent $13 for each one of the 7.7 million votes cast. Davis, who roughly doubled Simon's spending, actually paid nearly $20 for each of his votes.

It's an impressive figure on its own, but it's even more so in an historical context.

The last race for governor in 1998 broke the same two records — most money and lowest turnout. But the EPI calculation in that race was just $5.60 per vote — half of this year's measure. Going back to 1990, the EPI was $3.11 per vote. The slope is increasing.

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ELECTION 2002

Every major political campaign earns a legacy. It's a landslide winner or a cliffhanger. It's driven by hot-button ballot measures or controversial issues. It features exotic characters or colorful personalities. The legacy of Election 2002 is still being written, but if it becomes a book, you may find it in the horror section. In numerous surveys and in the record low turnout, Californians clearly expressed their unhappiness with this year's choice. Election 2002, as this replay shows, progressed from fund raising controversy to business scandal to campaign blunder. No education debate. No health care. No economy.

What they spent

DAVIS $$$$$$$$$$$$ 68million

SIMON $$$$$$ 32million

Where the votes were

MARCH

8: Simon launches campaign attacking Davis education record; teachers union gives Davis speech tepid response

5: Simon wins primary

APRIL

Adrees Latiff, Reuters

24: Simon continues to be dogged by demands to see tax returns

16: Davis releases tax returns. Simon refuses.

16: State audit says $95 million Oracle software purchase was not needed. Instead of savings, estimated $41 million cost to state. Contract was approved by top Davis officials despite warnings from staff aides. Four Davis officials are fired or released including one who accepted a $25,000 campaign contribution from Oracle lobbyist after the contract was approved.

MAY

7: Enron memos reveal trading schemes called "Fat Boy" and "Death Star" purportedly designed to manipulate California energy market.

16: Teachers union president says Davis solicited $1 million contribution in his Capitol office.

1: President George Bush stumps for Simon in California.

14: Simon attacks Davis for a March fund raiser that sought $100 from college students.

Rick Wilking, Reuters

JUNE

11: Davis TV attacks Simon family's investment firm.

13: First Lady Laura Bush campaigns for Simon.

6: Davis TV ads tout his record on guns, health care, abortion.

13: Media debunks Simon claim he prosecuted mobsters.

JULY

20: Simon reshuffles campaign staff.

23: *After refusing for three months, Simon releases tax records.*

31: Davis TV ad hits Simon's business.

13: News reports disclose Simon firm involved in IRS investigation of tax shelters.

23: *Davis signs landmark bill curbing greenhouse gas emissions.*

Rick Wilking, Reuters

31: LA jury finds Simon's firm guilty of fraud for purchasing a pay phone company and concealing plans to expand and go public. The plan failed and phone company was seized by banks, costing a business partner $23 million. Simon unaware at the time the partner was a convicted drug smuggler. Fraud verdict against Simon firm reversed 9/12 when judge says partner should have disclosed his record. Damage to campaign includes a fund raiser with a reluctant President Bush.

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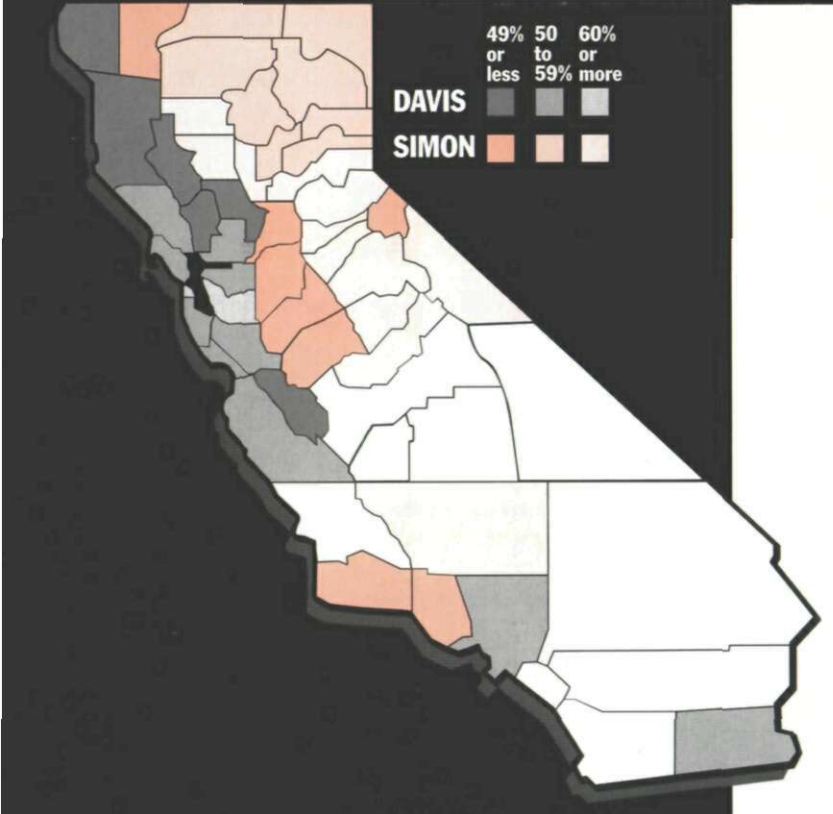

Sources: Polling; Public Policy Institute of California, Field and the *Los Angeles Times*. Voting; CA Secretary of State. Expenditures; Davis & Simon campaigns.

AUGUST

11: Eighth Davis TV ad calls Simon an "old oil and gas man."

15: To save money, Simon cuts campaign staff by half.

28: Prison guard union gives $1 million to Davis after he approves 37% pay raise.

SEPTEMBER

6: Two months late, Davis signs $99 billion state budget.

7: Simon advisor Lyn Nofzigerwrites Simon is "too dumb to win."

14: Simon's first network TV ads of general election feature President Bush and Giuliani.

17: Davis launches two TV attacks on Simon business problems.

18: Simon loans $4 million to his campaign, raising his total donation to $9 million.

20: After a news story, Davis cancels fund raiser to be held with backers of a high-speed rail project one day after the governor approved a $10 billion bond for the plan. Fund raiser was to be held at home of Davis appointee to the high speed rail authority. A week later, Davis cancels another fund raiser.

28: Simon TV ad features family; says he's an underdog.

Robert Galbraith, Reuters

OCTOBER

1: Davis TV ad hits another Simon business problem.

4: Latino Caucus dumps Davis over veto of bill providing drivers license to illegal immigrants.

7: The only debate in the general election is held at noon. Candidates display a sharp difference on issues, but event is dominated by Simon's charge that he has proof Davis violated state law by accepting a contribution in his state office. The charge backfires on Simon when the proof turns out to be a photo taken at a private home, not in a state office.

12: Simon TV hits Davis fund raising

17: Davis announces he will stop airing attack ads.

18: GOP campaign chief in DC: Simon is "single worst-run race in the country."

23: Simon loans his campaign $2 million, raising his total contribution to $11 million.

26: Davis' launches a series of TV attacks after vowing to stay positive. Davis ad says "you may not agree with everything I've done." A Simon ad says "I'm not perfect."

28: Court unseals 1994 record of convicted racketeer's claim of improper Davis fundraising.

28: Davis wins grudging endorsement of state's five largest newspapers.

31: Jack Kemp campaigns with Simon; Davis pitches LA Democrats.

Robert Galbraith, Reuters

ELECTION DAY, NOVEMBER 5

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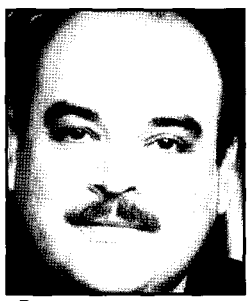
Lieutenant Governor

Bustamante (D*)	**3,510,009**	**50%**
McPherson (R)	2,961,033	42%
King (AI)	88,890	1%
Warren (G)	291,251	4%
Wright (L)	102,880	1%
Przybylak (NL)	65,148	1%
Hannosh (RF)	78,642	1%

Incumbent Democrat Cruz Bustamante had all the advantages in his re-election fight with Republican state Sen. Bruce McPherson. Bustamante had the prestige of office, his Latino heritage, designation as a Democrat and the ability to outspend his opponent nearly 3-to-2. Yet he failed to reach 50% of the vote in winning a second term as the state's "man in waiting" (the above figure is rounded up; Bustamante's actual percent of the vote was 49.5). Bustamante accumulated nearly 1 million fewer votes in 2002 than he had in 1998, when he first won the office, with his percent of the vote slipping from 53% in 1998 to under 50%. The reason, cited in numerous analyses, was Democratic turnout. The contest itself, like all those for "down ticket" statewide offices, remained well under the public's radar screen, with large numbers of voters still undecided only a week before Election Day. As for the campaign, McPherson tried to portray Bustamante as a "do nothing" incumbent — an interesting complaint, given that "do nothing" describes the job. To this effect, he cited the fact that the Bustamante-led California Commission for Economic Development had spent in excess of $300,000 without holding a single meeting. He also appealed to voters for "balance," all but conceding re-election for Gov. Gray Davis and arguing in late TV ads that a Democratic governor ought to have a Republican lieutenant governor. On this note, he tried to tie Bustamante to an unpopular governor by accusing the incumbent of going along with nearly all of Davis' decisions. McPherson also touted his own status as a moderate, showcasing his legislative support for gun control, abortion rights and the environment. For his part, Bustamante's season-long lead in polls gave him the leeway to run a mostly positive campaign, and he used his air time to promote his accomplishments, both as a legislator and as lieutenant governor.


Bustamante

McPherson

Attorney General

Lockyer (D*)	**3,525,838**	**51%**
Ackerman (R)	2,769,872	40%
Templin(AI)	183,956	3%
Mowrer(G)	265,380	4%
Kuwatch (L)	120,624	2%

From the beginning of the campaign through the October 19 reporting period, Republican state Sen. Dick Ackerman had raised a total of $262,690 in his quest to unseat incumbent Atty. Gen. Bill Lockyer. In contrast, Lockyer raised $1.2 million in the first three weeks of October alone and had nearly $9 million in the bank. Given that dynamic, Ackerman managed a credible enough showing on Election Day to position himself for a more serious challenge for the office in 2006. As for his 2002 effort, lack of money relegated Ackerman to free media, and he used it to badger his opponent over Lockyer's lack of curiosity about Gov. Gray Davis' more questionable fund-raising techniques. He also accused Lockyer of pursuing a frivolous lawsuit against Microsoft after a federal court upheld a settlement between the giant software maker and the U.S. Dept. of Justice. His main thrust, however, centered on Lockyer's reputation as a liberal while a member of the Legislature, saying the incumbent was too far to the left to serve as an adequate crime fighter. Lockyer countered by noting that most law-enforcement groups had endorsed his re-election. None of the jawboning mattered, however, as Lockyer breezed to what — in 2002 — passed for a landslide re-election for a Democrat. His performance, in fact, almost exactly mirrored his showing four years ago, while Ackerman did slightly worse than his 1998 counterpart, David Stirling. Lockyer even managed to win tiny Alpine County. For both candidates, the focus is 2006. Lockyer barely spent a nickel on this election and will lug a sizeable bankroll toward what is expected to be a race for governor.

Lockyer

Ackerman

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Controller

Westly (D)	**3,155,746**	**45%**
McClintock (R)	3,134,714	45%
Vance (AI)	92,167	1%
Wells (G)	398,378	6%
Aguirre (NL)	173,390	2%

Democratic Party activist and one-time eBay executive Steve Westly practiced what his former on-line auction company preaches — bid high and bid often. Westly poured more than $5 million from his own wallet into an effort to become the state's chief financial officer, using the money to raise his profile with an electorate that didn't know him and mostly didn't care. His opponent was gadfly Republican state Sen. Tom McClintock, who ran for the same office in 1994 against the now termed-out incumbent, Democrat Kathleen Connell. McClintock, who is libertarian in outlook, could not match Westly's resources but more than matched him in knowledge about the office and its oversight capabilities. The two candidates spent the campaign touting their credentials for the job. Westly promoted his background in finance as a former investment banker and faculty member at Stanford's Graduate School of Business. McClintock cited his two decades as the Legislature's fiscal watchdog, noting that he had taken on governors of both parties over what he perceived as wasteful spending. One of his key legislative proposals was the successful effort to roll back the state's car tax, now under fire as a costly perk in bad financial times. For his part, Westly portrayed himself as a consensus-builder and complained that McClintock was far too conservative for the California electorate. He credited McClintock's value to the Legislature but said that the controller's job required a professional manager with strong credentials in finance and investment. He also bashed his Republican opponent on social issues for opposing abortion and gun control, supporting school vouchers and for a poor voting record on the environment — criticism the *San Francisco Chronicle* called irrelevant in endorsing McClintock. McClintock fired back in the media, characterizing Westly as too cozy with the governor, which could hamper his ability to serve as an independent auditor of administration activity. He also accused Westly of benefitting from insider trading on the sale of his eBay stock in 2001. Most polls showed the race very close, a prediction borne out on Election Day when the outcome was not readily apparent. Westly led by less than 20,000 votes with more than 800,000 absentee and provisional ballots yet to be counted. Those ballots mirrored Election Day voting patterns, however giving Westly the victory when McClintock conceded two after the election.

Westly

McClintock

Secretary of State

Shelley (D)	**3,188,317**	**46%**
Olberg (R)	2,911,697	42%
Noonan (AI)	83,362	1%
Shoup (G)	264,162	4%
Lightfoot (L)	193,854	3%
Allison (NL)	167,733	2%
Sharpe-Geisler (RF)	74,380	1%

The race to succeed termed-out Secy. of State Bill Jones featured a pair of legislators who had reached the end of their Assembly careers: Democrat Kevin Shelley, who was termed out in 2002; and Republican Keith Olberg, who met the same fate two years ago. The campaign also featured two very different personalities and philosophies. The conservative Olberg has an understated and matter-of-fact demeanor, while the liberal Shelley has a explosive temper and was known in the Legislature for his often harsh treatment of staff. As with other statewide candidates, the Democrat bested the Republican in fund raising by a 2-to-1 margin, but Olberg had resources enough to make himself heard — as much as anyone could be heard running so far outside the public's interest. Shelley ended up spending over $1.5 million but still had over $1 million on hand as of mid-October. The San Francisco Democrat, whose late father once served as mayor of that city, touted legislative efforts that relate to the job, including allowing voters to apply for permanent absentee-voter status and a bond act to modernize voting equipment. Olberg mostly made an issue of Shelley, especially his relationship with staff that was detailed in an incident where a Capitol security camera taped the 6'4 Shelley berating a woman he had just fired. On the positive side, the Republican touted his doctorate in constitutional law and his longstanding support for business. Both Shelley and Olberg called the other out of touch with most Californians. Shelley noted an Olberg bill that would have made abortion illegal and punishable as murder; Olberg said Shelley promoted anti-business legislation that cost jobs. Although Shelley prevailed, the race was close thanks to sluggish Democratic turnout. In fact, Shelley received 600,000 fewer votes than

Shelley

Olberg

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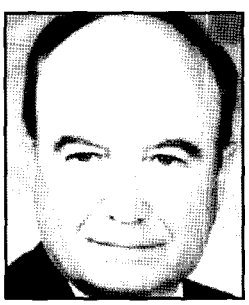
did Michela Alioto, the Democratic nominee who narrowly lost to Bill Jones in 1998. For his part, Olberg received a million fewer votes than Jones did four years ago.

Treasurer

Angelides (D*)	**3,366,304**	**49%**
Conlon (R)	2,762,547	41%
Johnson (AI)	92,393	1%
Rosenmeier (G)	333,619	5%
Smithson (L)	160,132	2%
Valentine (NL)	106,147	2%

Not many candidates went into this election with the advantages enjoyed by incumbent Treas. Phil Angelides. He had more money than any California Democrat not named Gray Davis. He had the benefit of incumbency. And he had in Greg Conlon a Republican challenger with about the worst resume' this side of an Enron executive. Conlon is a CPA who, for 30 years, was a senior partner in the now-infamous Arthur Anderson accounting firm. In addition, he served on the Public Utilities Commission where he staunchly advocated energy deregulation — which now can be found in the dictionary as a synonym for "political suicide." Not only that, Conlon used the campaign to tout his continued support for deregulation. Angelides had outspent Conlon 4-to-1 by mid-October, a rollover that bought a less-than-overwhelming victory given Conlon's negatives. In securing his re-election, the incumbent polled nearly 1 million fewer votes than four years ago, and his share of the vote dropped nearly 3%. Not that unimpressive numbers were Angelides' fault; like other Democrats, he was a cork on the low tide created by the gubernatorial race. Nonetheless, he finished the campaign with $7 million in the bank, a nice nest egg for whatever opportunities present themselves in 2006.

Angelides

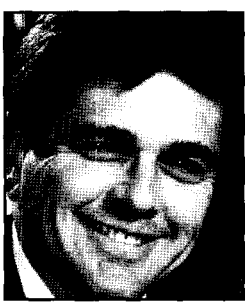

Conlon

Insurance Commissioner

Garamendi (D)	**3,174,401**	**47%**
Mendoza (R)	2,843,852	42%
Klein (AI)	142,249	2%
Sheidlower (G)	260,143	4%
Ogden (L)	225,115	3%
Calderon (NL)	182,497	3%

Former Insr. Comm. John Garamendi won his old job back in a spirited campaign against Republican Gary Mendoza, a former corporations commissioner under then-Gov. Pete Wilson. The election itself took place in the shadow of scandals that had plagued the state Dept. of Insurance in 1999 and 2000 and ultimately forced the resignation of the previously elected commissioner, Republican Charles Quackenbush. The office has been held by a governor-appointed steward, former Judge Harry Low, for the past two years. Garamendi was the state's first-ever elected commissioner back in 1990 but resigned before the end of his first term to make an abortive run for governor in 1994. He subsequently served in the Clinton administration. In this race, he had the advantage of name ID and money, having been in the public eye as a statewide candidate on four occasions and having raised nearly $3 million in an effort to regain his former post. Mendoza, on the other hand, raised about $1 million for his first foray into elective politics. The state Republican Party, however, dropped nearly $1.2 million into Mendoza's campaign in the final week, allowing him to go on the offensive with a statewide TV buy. It was the biggest single contribution made by the GOP to a statewide candidate. Although neither candidate accepted contributions from insurance companies, brokers or agents, Mendoza was criticized because insurers had contributed to the GOP. As befitting the job, the two sparred over who would better protect consumers. Mendoza poked at Garamendi for his conduct in seizing an insolvent insurance company, Executive Life, while commissioner in 1991 — an event whose legacy still haunts the company's policyholders. Mostly, however, the nominees showcased their records. Mendoza touted the fact that, as corporations commissioner, he persuaded Blue Cross to create a multi-billion-dollar nonprofit — the Wellness Foundation — when Blue Cross was converted to a for-profit enterprise. He also pointed to his record as deputy mayor of Los Angeles under his former law partner, Richard Riordan. Garamendi chose to run a positive campaign that called attention to his first tenure as commissioner. Even though he lost, Mendoza is seen as an up-and-coming Republican, a moderate Latino who is well positioned for 2006.

Garamendi


Mendoza

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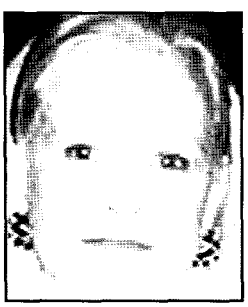
Superintendent of Public Instruction

O'Connell	**3,532,833**	**62%**
Smith	2,221,008	38%

This Election Day, former Democratic state Sen. Jack O'Connell was the biggest vote-getter on the slate of constitutional officers when he bested Orange County school board member Katherine Smith — outpolling Gov. Gray Davis by nearly 700,000 votes and just edging past Atty. Gen. Bill Lockyer. He also was the only winner of a statewide constitutional office to receive 60% of the vote. O'Connell now can settle in for what likely will be an eight-year tenure in a job with lots and lots of visibility and accountability, and virtually no power or authority. O'Connell had all the big guns going into the election. Both teacher unions, the California Teachers' Assn. and the California Federation of Teachers, were in his camp, as were most other education-related organizations. He also had more money than Smith, which is like comparing the Los Angeles Lakers to a pre-school pick-up team. The Santa Barbara-area Democrat outspent Smith 45-to-1. If any voters happened to be listening, the two candidates focused on different issues: O'Connell on class-size reduction and the plight of poor-performing schools; Smith on vocational education and a return to basics in teaching. The only issue to generate much media heat had nothing to do with education but with ballot designations. Smith complained when O'Connell added "teacher" to his ballot ID, claiming that the Democratic frontrunner hadn't been in a classroom for 20 years. O'Connell had been a high-school teacher before running for the Legislature for the first time in 1982. Smith, on the other hand, was dinged for referring to herself as an educator because she once taught in private schools. Unlike O'Connell, Smith has no teaching credential and has been involved in real estate for the past three decades. O'Connell spent most of the campaign, however, trumpeting his accomplishments on behalf of education, including laws that reduced class size and raised salaries for beginning teachers. He also was the sponsor of a ballot initiative two years ago that reduced the threshold for passing local school bonds from 66% to 55%. Smith campaigned vigorously and appeared on some slate mailers, but due to lack of resources, she was incapable of competing on TV or radio — which showed in the final result.

O'Connell



Smith

Board of Equalization

DISTRICT 1 (50% D - 27% R - 18% DS)

Migden (D)	**1,071,048**	**61%**
Bendick (R)	591,210	34%
Brierly (L)	102,745	6%

Carole Migden, the former chair of Assembly Appropriations, is the first openly gay candidate ever elected to a constitutional office in California. She may not remain at the board for long, however, as Migden is said to be considering a run for either state Senate or mayor of San Francisco.

DISTRICT 2 (41% D - 43% R - 12% DS)

Santos (D)	665,926	42%
Leonard (R)	**938,347**	**59%**

Bill Leonard's distinguished legislative career lasted from 1978 to 2002 and included two stints in the Assembly and one in the state Senate.

DISTRICT 3 (35% D - 45% R - 15% DS)

Christian-Heising (D)	603,325	37%
Parrish (R*)	**948,630**	**59%**
Graham (L)	62,933	4%

DISTRICT 4 (54% D - 26% R - 15% DS)

Chiang (D*)	**817,598**	**64%**
Forsch (R)	389,662	30%
Weissman (L)	80,908	6%

Supreme Court

Three State Supreme Court justices — all appointed by different governors — were confirmed for new 12-year terms. There was virtually no campaign for or against any of the justices.

Carlos Moreno (Gray Davis)

Yes	**3,387,006**	**73%**
No	1,286,266	28%

Marvin Baxter (George Deukmejian)

Yes	**3,218,097**	**71%**
No	1,293,883	29%

Katherine Werdegar (Pete Wilson)

Yes	**3,448,123**	**74%**
No	1,218,732	26%

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CJ's District-by-District Analysis

On the surface, majority Democrats did fine in district elections, maintaining large margins in the congressional delegation and in both houses of the Legislature. But Democratic performance can best be characterized as "winning ugly." As mentioned elsewhere, the top-of-the-ticket campaign for governor, coupled with a party-safe redistricting plan, created a stupor among the electorate, driving turnout to an historic low led by no-show Democrats. Nowhere was the impact more keenly felt than at the district level.

Overall, Democrats gained a congressional district to give them 33 of the state's 52 seats in the U.S. House. They won the only seat where competition reared its ugly head — the 18th, formerly held by Democrat Gary Condit. Democrats lost ground in the Legislature, however. Their edge in the state Senate fell to 25-15 with the loss of SD 12. Assembly Democrats lost two seats (ADs 78 and 80) and nearly dropped a third (AD 30), although they still have a 48-32 margin in the lower house.

That legislative Democrats lost ground at all can be laid at the door of turnout, especially among Latinos. According to a *Los Angeles Times* exit poll, Latino turnout plunged to 10% — 4 points below 1998 and back to pre-Prop. 187 levels. For the moment, the ever-upward trend in Latino voting, which has been a boon to Democrats since 1996, seems to have lurched into reverse. This relapse likely is temporary, caused by phlegmatic election campaigns at every level and not by any long-term tune out by Latino voters.

But this year, their absence seems to have made a difference. A case in point is Imperial County, which is 60% Latino and where Democrats outnumber Republicans nearly 2-to-1. Turnout in Imperial was 35%, helping Republican Bonnie Garcia carry the county en route to victory in AD 80. In AD 30, which is 61% Latino, Democrat Nicole Parra may have outspent her GOP opponent by nearly 6-to-1. Yet Parra squeaked past Republican Dean Gardner by fewer than 200 votes out of 52,000 cast.

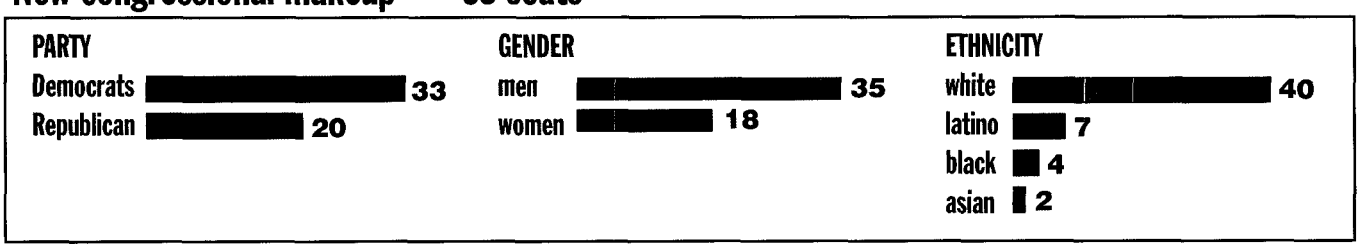
KEY to charts

CD = congressional district
SD = state Senate district
AD = Assembly district
D% = percent of Democratic voter registration
R% = percent of Republican voter registration
DS% = percent registered decline-to-state
D = Democratic candidates
R = Republican candidates
AI = American Independent Party
G = Green Party
L = Libertarian Party
NL = Natural Law
RF = Reform Party
* = incumbent

Vote percentages listed in the right column of each district may total more than 100% due to rounding.

Congress

New congressional makeup — 53 seats



DISTRICT 1 (46% D - 31% R - 15% DS)

Thompson (D*)	**108,648**	**64**
Wiesner (R)	55,085	32
Bastian (L)	5,942	4

DISTRICT 2 (36% D - 45% R - 13% DS)

Johnson (D)	49,602	30
Herger (R*)	**111,051**	**66**
Martin (L)	3,679	2
Thiessen (NL)	4,568	3

DISTRICT 3 (38% D - 45% R - 13% DS)

Beeman (D)	57,267	35
Ose (R*)	**102,119**	**62**
Tuma (L)	5,201	3

Safely tucked into a solid Republican district, incumbent Doug Ose is said to be exploring a bid for the U.S. Senate.

DISTRICT 4 (32% D - 48% R - 14% DS)

Norberg (D)	65,456	32
Doolittle (R*)	**132,221**	**65**
Roberts (L)	6,498	3

DISTRICT 5 (54% D - 26% R - 15% DS)

Matsui (D*)	**79,445**	**72**
Frankhuizen (R)	28,222	25
Roloff (L)	3,368	3

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DISTRICT 6 (51% D - 27% R - 16% DS)

Woolsey (D*)	**119,071**	**67**
Erickson (R)	53,489	30
Barton (L)	4,282	2
Rainforth (RF)	2,420	1

DISTRICT 7 (57% D - 24% R - 15% DS)

Miller (D*)	**88,256**	**71**
Hargrave (R)	33,131	27
Wilson (L)	3,597	3

DISTRICT 8 (56% D - 12% R - 25% DS)

Pelosi (D*)	**126,553**	**80**
German (R)	19,929	13
Pond (G)	9,906	6
Spivack (L)	2,630	2

Incumbent Nancy Pelosi is the new House minority leader, but the Democrats' failure to recapture the House puts her ambition to be speaker on hold.

DISTRICT 9 (63% D - 12% R - 18% DS)

Lee (D*)	**128,326**	**82**
Udinsky (R)	23,813	15
Eyer (L)	5,377	3

DISTRICT 10 (46% D - 35% R - 15% DS)

Tauscher (D*)	**110,361**	**75**
Harden (L)	36,225	25

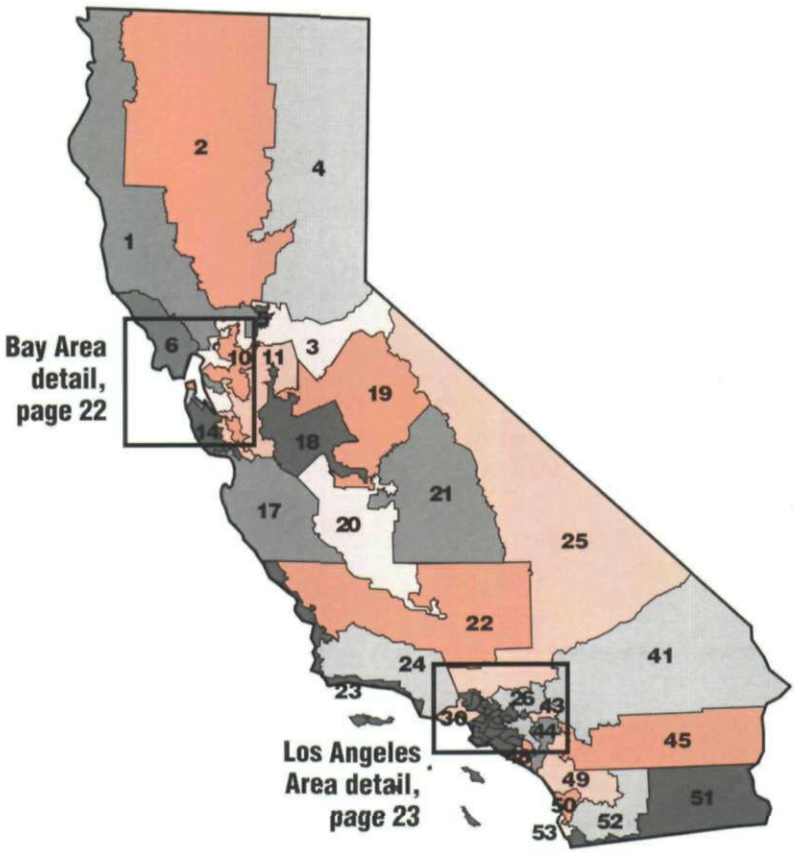
DISTRICT 11 (38% D - 47% R - 12% DS)

Shaw (D)	61,867	40
Pombo (R*)	**93,307**	**60**

Somewhere along about mid-campaign, there were rumblings that five-term incumbent Republican Richard Pombo might be in trouble in his substantially redrawn, four-county district. Registration favored Pombo, but so much of the territory was new to him — especially Contra Costa County — that Democrats smelled an upset if all the pieces fell into the right pattern. Unfortunately, none of the pieces fell correctly, even after Democrat Ellen Shaw pumped $400,000 of her own money into the effort. The closest county race took place in Contra Costa — Shaw's home base — but Pombo even won there, albeit by less than 2%.

DISTRICT 12 (52% D - 24% R - 20% DS)

Lantos (D*)	**99,072**	**68**
Moloney (R)	35,985	25
Abu-Ghazalah (L)	10,421	7



DISTRICT 13 (53% D - 23% R - 19% DS)

Stark (D*)	**81,400**	**71**
Mahmood (R)	25,383	22
Grundmann (AI)	2,6186	2
Stroberg (L)	3,520	3
Bambey (RF)	1,798	2

DISTRICT 14 (46% D - 30% R - 19% DS)

Eshoo (D*)	**106,563**	**68**
Nixon (R)	44,093	28
Carver (L)	5,670	4

DISTRICT 15 (45% D - 31% R - 20% DS)

Honda (D*)	**81,541**	**66**
Hermann (R)	38,788	31
Landauer (L)	4,020	3

DISTRICT 16 (49% D - 27% R - 19% DS)

Lofgren (D*)	**66,926**	**67**
McNea (R)	29,818	30
Umphress (L)	3,217	3

DISTRICT 17 (50% D - 29% R - 15% DS)

Farr (D*)	**91,313**	**68**
Engler (R)	36,651	27
Glock-Grueneich (G)	4,448	3
Lee (L)	2,170	2

DISTRICT 18 (51% D - 38% R - 8% DS)

Cardoza (D)	**53,621**	**51**
Monteith (R)	45,960	44
Cripe (AI)	3,460	3
DeGroat (L)	2,088	2

That huge sigh of relief heard on Election Night throughout this chunk of the Central Valley came from residents of the five counties that make up this largely rural district. Finally, the election is o-v-e-r in what has been known for more than two decades as "Condit country." Initially, the district was drawn to entice long-time Democratic incumbent Gary Condit into retirement after he became embroiled in a Washington-based scandal. But

Cardoza

Monteith

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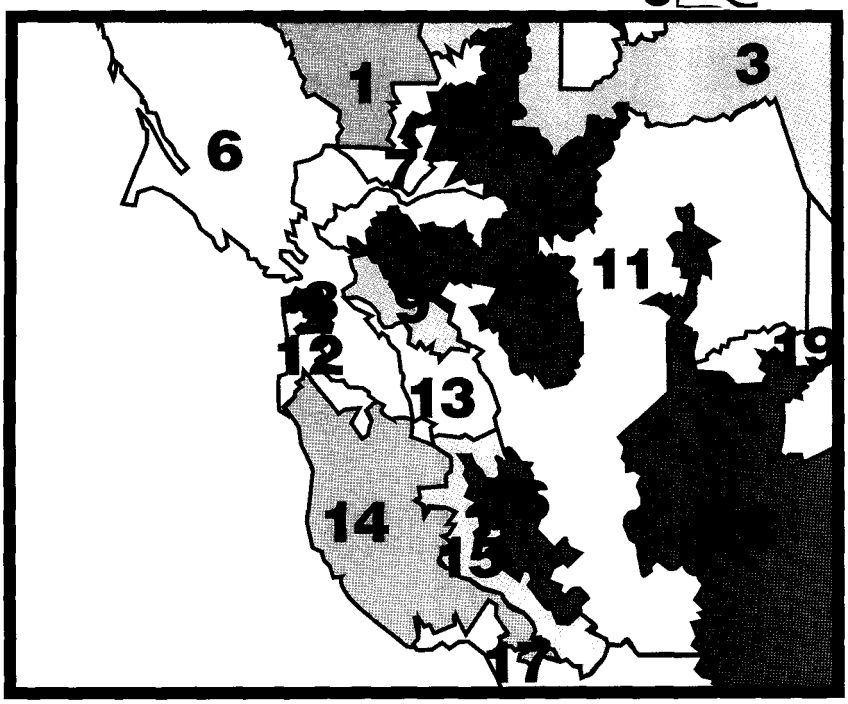

Condit refused to go quietly and instead ran in the Democratic primary where he was opposed by an old ally — Assm. Dennis Cardoza — in what dissolved into a bitter, invective-laced campaign. Although Cardoza emerged victorious, some Democrats expressed dismay with his less-than-vigorous effort against a wounded yet hard-working opponent. Cardoza's lack of luster was noted by two nationally known political analysts, both of whom referred to the Democrat as lazy. One, Charlie Cook, even went so far as to call Cardoza an "atrocious candidate" during a nationally televised speech. All that gave hope to Republicans, who nominated state Sen. Dick Monteith, whose legislative district overlapped a large portion of the new congressional seat. The Monteith campaign also benefitted from the fact that CD 18 was the state's only competitive House district and could thus expect to receive a bundle of resources from a Republican Party trying to hold onto control of the House. In fact, both parties were intensely involved not only in CD 18 but in the territory that made up the district, for it also included competitive contests for the state Senate (SD 12) and Assembly (AD 17 and 26). From the beginning, the battle was uphill for Monteith, who required a sizeable war chest to overcome the money that Democrats were willing to sink into their candidate and who lacked Cardoza's natural edge in voter registration. Republicans mounted an aggressive voter drive last winter, which cut the Democrats' as-drawn 17-point edge down to 6 points by the March primary. But Democrats countered with drives of their own over the summer, adding enough voters to regain a double-digit advantage by the end of October. The campaign itself attracted national interest, as evidenced by the parade of political luminaries who traipsed through the region. That list included no less than Pres. George W. Bush, who appeared with Monteith in Stockton during a summer campaign trip; and U.S. Sen. Joe Lieberman who, among others, stumped for Cardoza. As with most intensely competitive races of late, a negative tone permeated the contest almost from the beginning, soured in part by the continued presence of Clan Condit. In October, Condit's grown children sent a letter to Democrats urging that they not vote for Cardoza and accusing him of a litany of indiscretions — including trafficking on their father's troubles for political gain. Not that either candidate needed help from the Condits to conduct a negative campaign. Monteith accused Cardoza of money laundering and of violating federal election laws — a charge the Cardoza camp denied. Cardoza also was hit for receiving campaign money from tobacco companies during previous campaigns for the Legislature. But Cardoza clearly was the better funded candidate, a condition exacerbated when House Republicans failed to provide expected funding to Monteith in October. That stranded his campaign without sufficient resources to mount a strong finish. Despite a late-October poll showing the race too close to call, Cardoza swept to an easy victory. Five counties comprise the district, although most voters live in Merced, San Joaquin and Stanislaus. And although Monteith carried four of the five, including Merced and Stanislaus, his margins of victory were too small to overcome the pasting he took in San Joaquin, where Cardoza piled up all of his 8,500-vote advantage.

DISTRICT 19 (39% D - 47% R - 10% DS)

Veen (D)	45,928	30
Radanovich (R*)	**102,368**	**67**
McHargue (L)	4,033	3

DISTRICT 20 (55% D - 33% R - 9% DS)

Dooley (D*)	**46,626**	**64**
Minuth (R)	25,338	35
Swearingen (L)	1,490	2

This is the first election that five-term incumbent Cal Dooley hasn't had to sweat, thanks to a very friendly reapportionment.

DISTRICT 21 (38% D - 49% R - 11% DS)

LePere (D)	31,706	26
Nunes (R)	**85,052**	**71**
Richter (L)	3,954	3

Devin Nunes won this seat in the March GOP primary and now goes to Congress with his mentor — Rep. Bill Thomas of Bakersfield, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee.

DISTRICT 22 (32% D - 52% R - 12% DS)

Corvera (D)	37,188	24
Thomas (R*)	**115,791**	**74**
Coates (L)	4,611	3

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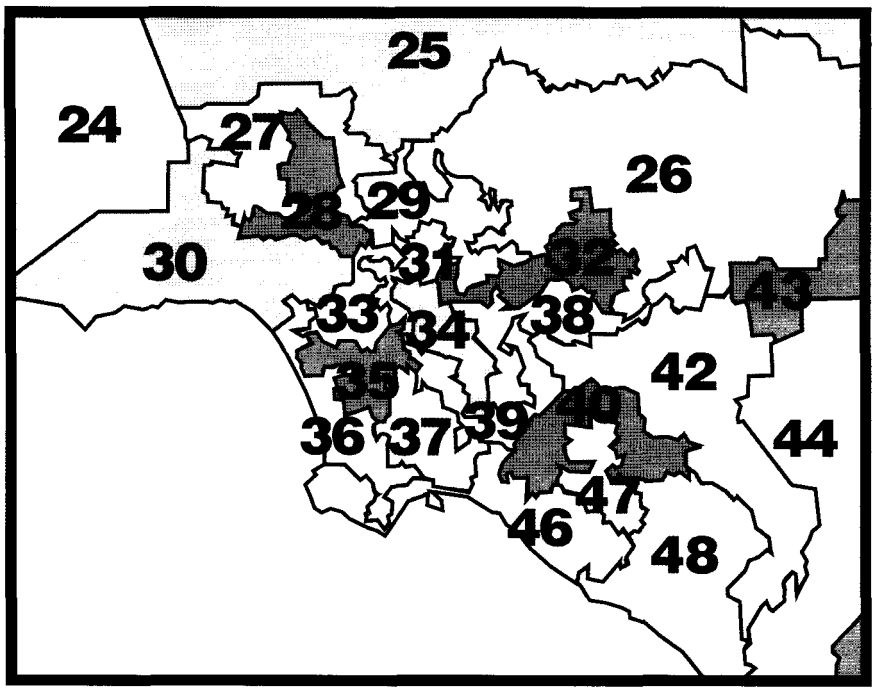

DISTRICT 23 (45% D - 33% R - 16% DS)

Capps (D*)	**90,197**	**59**
Rogers (R)	58,922	39
Hill (L)	3,615	2

At one point during the campaign, the *Los Angeles Times* indicated that Democratic incumbent Lois Capps was in a tough fight for re-election against Beth Rogers, a moderate, pro-choice Republican. Local observers considered the story absurd — as the result proved.

DISTRICT 24 (35% D - 46% R - 14% DS)

Rudin ((D)	57,760	32
Gallegly (R*	**118,785**	**65**
Harber (L)	5,549	3

DISTRICT 25 (36% D - 46% R - 14% DS)

Conaway (D)	37,907	31
McKeon (R*	**79,232**	**65**
Consolo (L)	4,803	4

DISTRICT 26 (34% D - 47% R - 15% DS)

Mikels (D)	49,575	34
Dreier (R*)	**94,314**	**64**
Weissbach (L)	4,029	3

DISTRICT 27 (48% D - 32% R - 15% DS)

Sherman (D*)	**78,065**	**62**
Levy (R)	48,004	38

DISTRICT 28 (58% D - 22% R - 16% DS)

Berman (D*)	**72,190**	**71**
Hernandez (R)	22,390	23
Ross (L)	5,464	5

DISTRICT 29 (45% D - 34% R - 17% DS)

Schiff (D*)	**74,334**	**63**
Scileppi (R)	39,736	33
Brown (L)	4,756	4

DISTRICT 30 (51% D - 27% R - 17% DS)

Waxman (D*)	**127,072**	**70**
Goss (R)	53,766	30

Here is an interesting comment on turnout. In this mostly white, affluent LA district, Republican Tony Goss won only 30% of the vote against incumbent Democrat Henry Waxman. That translated into more than 53,000 votes. But Goss received more raw votes than Democratic winners in six other districts (Cal Dooley, Xavier Becerra, Lucille Roybal-Allard, Linda Sanchez, Joe Baca and Loretta Sanchez), most of whom captured two-thirds of the vote in districts where more than 60% of the population is Latino.

DISTRICT 31 (61% D - 17% R - 16% DS)

Becerra (D*)	**53,236**	**81**
Vega (R)	12,388	19

DISTRICT 32 (53% D - 27% R - 16% DS)

Solis (D*)	**57,533**	**69**
Fischbeck (R)	22,979	27
McGuire (L)	3,137	4

DISTRICT 33 (67% D - 13% R - 15% DS)

Watson (D*)	**95,305**	**83**
Kim (R)	16,325	14
Tate (L)	3,866	3

DISTRICT 34 (61% D - 20% R - 14% DS)

Roybal-Allard (D*)	**47,699**	**74**
Miller (R)	16,749	26

DISTRICT 35 (69% D - 14% R - 12% DS)

Waters (D*)	**70,626**	**78**
Moen (R)	17,728	19
Mego (AI)	2,850	3

DISTRICT 36 (45% D - 33% R - 17% DS)

Harman (D*)	**86,136**	**61**
Johnson (R)	49,362	35
McSpadden (L)	5,091	4

DISTRICT 37 (63% D - 18% R - 13% DS)

Millender-McDonald (D*)	**61,787**	**73**
Velasco (R)	19,708	23
Peters (L)	3,332	4

DISTRICT 38 (59% D - 22% R - 14% DS)

Napolitano (D*)	**61,447**	**71**
Burrola (R)	22,648	26
Cuperus (L)	2,249	3

DISTRICT 39 (54% D - 27% R - 14% DS)

Ln.Sanchez (D)	**51,128**	**55**
Escobar (R)	38,264	41
Newhouse (L)	4,067	4

Linda Sanchez joins sister Loretta (CD 47) to form the first sister act in House history.

DISTRICT 40 (34% D - 48% R - 14% DS)

Avalos (D)	39,465	30
Royce (R*)	**90,745**	**68**
McGlawn (L)	3,871	3

DISTRICT 41 (35% D - 49% R - 12% DS)

Johnson (D)	39,353	30
Lewis (R*)	**89,850**	**67**
Craig (L)	3,985	3

DISTRICT 42 (31% D - 51% R - 15% DS)

Waldron (D)	41,234	29
Miller (R*)	**95,629**	**68**
Yee (L)	4,580	3

DISTRICT 43 (54% D - 30% R - 11% DS)

Baca (D*)	**45,339**	**66**
Neighbor (R)	20,800	31
Mohler (L)	2,143	3

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DISTRICT 44 (34% D - 50% R - 12% DS)

Vandenberg (D)	35,138	32
Calvert (R*)	**69,634**	**63**
Courtney (G)	5,240	5

Tap your fingers if you're starting to nod off.

DISTRICT 45 (37% D - 48% R - 11% DS)

Kurpiewski (D)	40,402	33
Bono (R*)	**79,031**	**65**
Miller-Boyer (L)	2,494	2

DISTRICT 46 (32% D - 48% R - 15% DS)

Schipske (D)	59,687	35
Rohrabacher (R*)	**106,804**	**62**
Gann (L)	5,951	4

DISTRICT 47 (48% D - 34% R - 15% DS)

Lr.Sanchez (D*)	**41,282**	**61**
Chavez (R)	23,662	35
Marsden (L)	2,871	4

DISTRICT 48 (28% D - 53% R - 16% DS)

Graham (D)	50,066	29
Cox (R*)	**120,643**	**68**
Cobb (L)	5,495	3

DISTRICT 49 (30% D - 50% R - 15% DS)

Issa (R*)	**91,945**	**78**
Dietrich (L)	26,219	22

Monotonous, isn't it?

DISTRICT 50 (31% D - 46% R - 18% DS)

Stewart (D)	55,759	33
Cunningham (R*)	**110,835**	**64**
Fontanesi (L)	5,734	3

DISTRICT 51 (48% D - 31% R - 16% DS)

Filner (D*)	**58,088**	**58**
Garcia (R)	38,976	39
Keup (L)	2,718	3

DISTRICT 52 (32% D - 46% R - 17% DS)

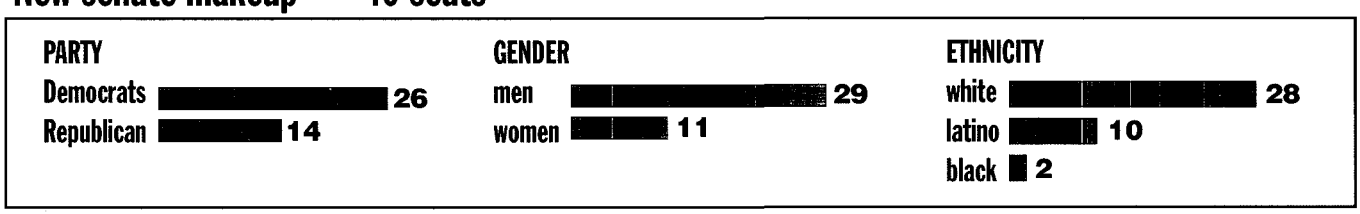
Moore-Kochlacs (D)	43,505	26
Hunter (R*)	**118,424**	**70**
Benoit (L)	6,109	4

DISTRICT 53 (42% D - 32% R - 19% DS)

Davis (D*)	**72,117**	**62**
VanDeWeghe (R)	43,809	38

State Senate

New senate makeup — 40 seats



DISTRICT 2 (49% D - 29% R - 15% DS)

Chesboro (D*)	**139,626**	**63**
Redfearn (R)	71,517	33
Likover (L)	9,089	4

DISTRICT 4 (34% D - 46% R - 13% DS)

Smith (D)	86,935	37
Aanestad (R)	**137,448**	**58**
Underwood (L)	12,940	5

Assm. Sam Aanestad won this seat in a hotly contested GOP primary where he bested fellow Assm. Dick Dickerson.

DISTRICT 6 (50% D - 30% R - 14% DS)

Ortiz (D*)	**104,436**	**73**
Sewell (L)	39,001	27

DISTRICT 8 (52% D - 21% R - 22% DS)

Speier (D*)	**151,026**	**78**
Zell (R)	36,882	19
Fliegler (L)	5,325	3

DISTRICT 10 (50% D - 26% R - 20% DS)

Figueroa (D*)	**97,127**	**67**
Gunther (R)	43,276	30
Darnell (L)	4,693	3

DISTRICT 12 (49% D - 38% R - 10% DS)

Areias (D)	68,688	47
Denham (R)	**70,745**	**49**
Eaton (L)	6,581	5

Republican Jeff Denham had one — and only one — issue of note in his apparently successful quest to win a Senate seat: his Democratic opponent, Rusty Areias. Areias spent a dozen years in the Assembly back in the 1980s and early 1990s, and during that time he was the Legislature's resident *bon vivant*, the "hale fellow, well met." He also accumulated enough political and personal baggage to sink an aircraft carrier. As a member of rebellious Democrats known as the "Gang of Five," he was a crony of Gary Condit. After a key staffer was accused of sexual harassment, Areias was slow to punish the offender. He finished near the bottom in "integrity" in *California Journal's* ranking of lawmakers in 1992 and 1994 (although he ranked well in "effectiveness" and middle-of-the-pack overall). He failed to file reports and fees in a timely manner, was fined for it by the Secy. of State's Office, and neglected to vote in the 2000 election. On the personal side, he lost the family dairy farm in a bankruptcy and was embroiled in a bitter squabble with Bank of America over the loss. He also had a history of late payments on his property taxes, which led to a series of tax liens. The sheer volume of this cargo led *The Modesto Bee* to question his character and subsequently endorse Denham, who in a political

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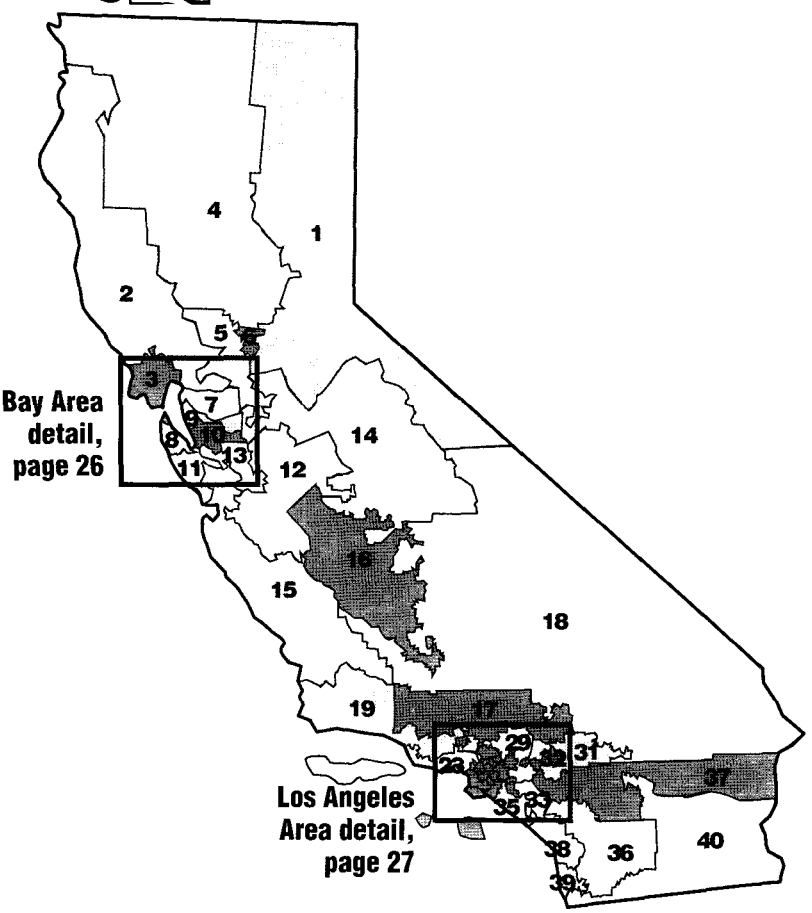
Areias

Denham



sense had little choice but to go after the better-known Areias. Not surprisingly, the campaign went straight to the gutter — and stayed there from March to November, with Denham exposing *ad nauseum* every wart and carbuncle ever associated with the former Democratic lawmaker. At one point, Areias threatened to sue over a TV ad that said the Fair Political Practices Comm. had fined him 31 times. Areias, who was never fined by the FPPC, demanded that local TV stations pull the commercial. Accurate or not, salvos such as this put Areias on the defensive throughout the fall; so much so that he accused his opponent of running a "morally bankrupt"and "reckless" campaign. This wasn't the first time that Denham had used bare knuckles in an effort to reach the Legislature. Two years ago, he ran for the Assembly, and Areias dredged up Denham's 2000 GOP primary opponent, who accused him of distorting the truth during their campaign. (Denham won that primary but lost the general election.) For his part, Areias complained that Denham never talked about issues important to the district and accused Denham's handlers of keeping their candidate hidden behind a barrage of attack ads and mailers. Despite the onslaught, Areias stayed afloat on sea of money; more money than can be imagined trying to secure a job that pays $99,000 a year. The Areias camp estimates that it will have spent more than $4 million from all sources, including independent expenditures; Denham dished out about half that amount but sources say spent it more wisely — especially on an aggressive absentee campaign targeted at occasional Republican voters. Areias' supporters even made a controversial donation to the campaign of Libertarian David Eaton, notably $50,000 for a late-October phone bank paid for by the California Correctional Peace Officers' Assn. and designed to peel conservatives away from the Republican. Eaton captured over 6,500 votes — the lion's share of which likely would have gone to Denham and elected him with a more comfortable margin. The campaign's intensity was multiplied by the fact that it was the only Senate race of note and covered much of the same territory as a hotly contested congressional race in CD 18 and competitive Assembly races in AD 17 and AD 26. Election Day ended in a dead heat. Areias' strength came from Monterey Co., where he ran up a 7,000-vote margin and out-polled Denham 60% to 40%. The Democrat also piled up a thousand-vote edge in San Benito Co. Vote-heavy Merced and Stanislaus counties combined to give Denham a nearly 7,500 vote bulge, while Madera Co. went for Denham by some 700 votes. But the final result hinged on 25,000 absentee and provisional ballots uncounted on Election Day. As those results trickled in, the lead bounced from one camp to the other. Areias clung to a razor-thin lead until 8 days after the election when Stanislaus dumped nearly all of its absentees into the hopper at one time, creating a Denham tidal wave that swamped Areias' fragile hold on the prize. Although a recount is still possible, Denham's margin appears secure, and Arieas can point to Democratic no-shows as one source of his downfall.

DISTRICT 14 (36% D - 50% R - 10% DS)

Poochigian (R*)	**168,161**	**100**

The Legislature's most brutal campaign. A slugfest of monumental proportions, the political equivalent of Gettysburg. That Charles Poochigian survived is the miracle of the year.

DISTRICT 16 (54% D - 34% R - 9% DS)

Florez (D)	**68,009**	**70**
Knox (R)	29,231	30

DISTRICT 18 (33% D - 51% R - 11% DS)

Ashburn (R)	**151,038**	**100**

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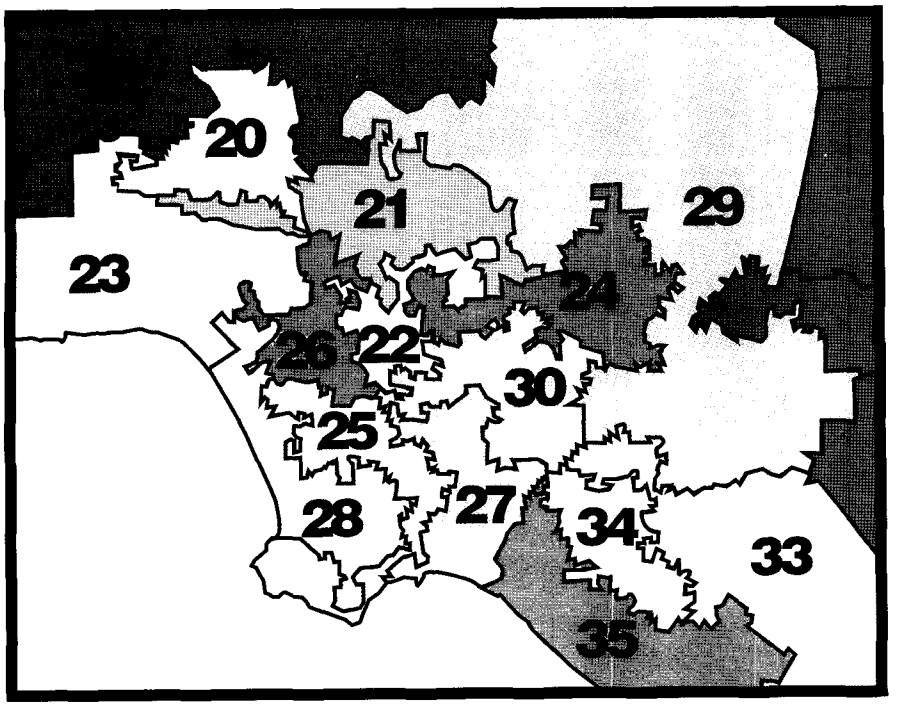

DISTRICT 20 (55% D - 25% R - 16% DS)

Alarcon (D*)	**87,073**	**100**

DISTRICT 22 (60% D - 18% R - 17% DS)

Cedillo (D)	**66,742**	**100**

Do not adjust your set; nothing has been omitted from the results in districts 18, 20 or 22.

DISTRICT 24 (55%D - 25 %R - 16%DS)

Romero (D*)	**77,865**	**71**
House (R)	28,665	26
Swinney (L)	2,697	2

DISTRICT 26 (67% D - 13% R - 15% DS)

Murray (D*)	**120,749**	**100**

The fifth of five Senate seats that were totally uncontested.

DISTRICT 28 (49% D - 30% R - 17% DS)

Bowen (D*)	**111,447**	**62**
Hill (R)	63,307	35
DeBaets (L)	5,902	3

DISTRICT 30 (58% D - 25% R - 13% DS)

Escutia (D*)	**78,934**	**67**
J.Robertson (R)	38,807	33

DISTRICT 32 (54% D - 30% R - 12% DS)

Soto (D*)	**60,490**	**68**
K.Robertson (R)	28,976	32

DISTRICT 34 (46% D - 35% R - 15% DS)

Dunn (D*)	**61,843**	**62**
Gonzalez (R)	37,961	38

DISTRICT 36 (29% D - 50% R - 16% DS)

Westall (D)	52,514	24
Hollingsworth (R)	**148,870**	**70**
Metti (L)	13,099	6

Assm. Dennis Hollingsworth moves to the Senate.

DISTRICT 38 (29% D - 49% R - 17% DS)

Hanneman (D)	59,034	30
Morrow (R*)	**128,911**	**66**
Grossmith (L)	7,689	4

DISTRICT 40 (47% D - 33% R - 15% DS)

Ducheny (D)	**63,913**	**57**
Giorgino (R)	44,764	40
Miranda (L)	4,201	4

Former Assm. Denise Ducheny returns to the Legislature after a two-year hiatus.

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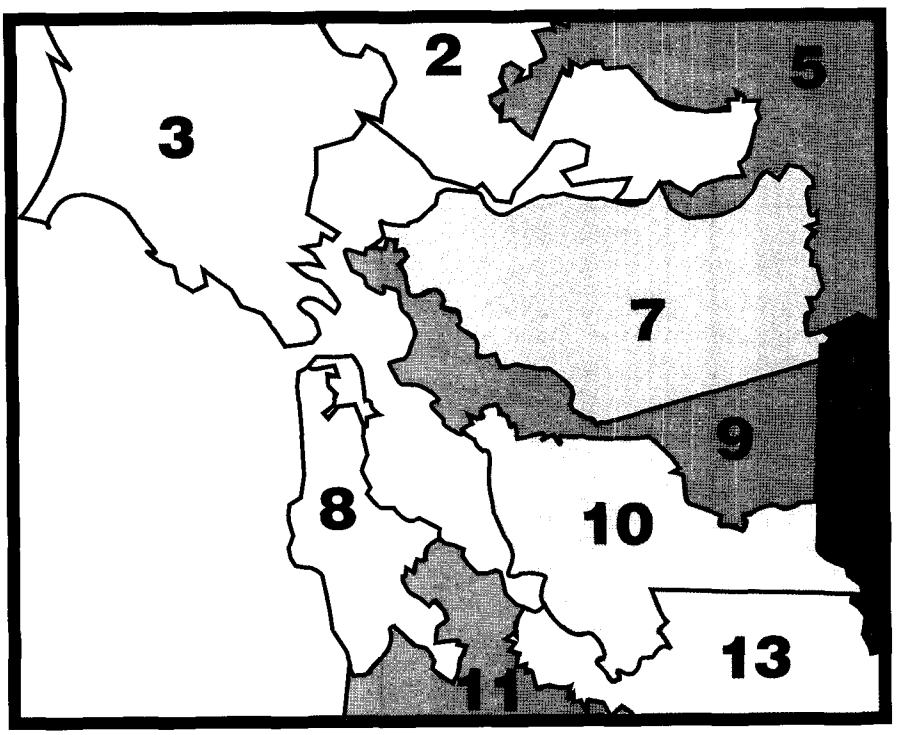

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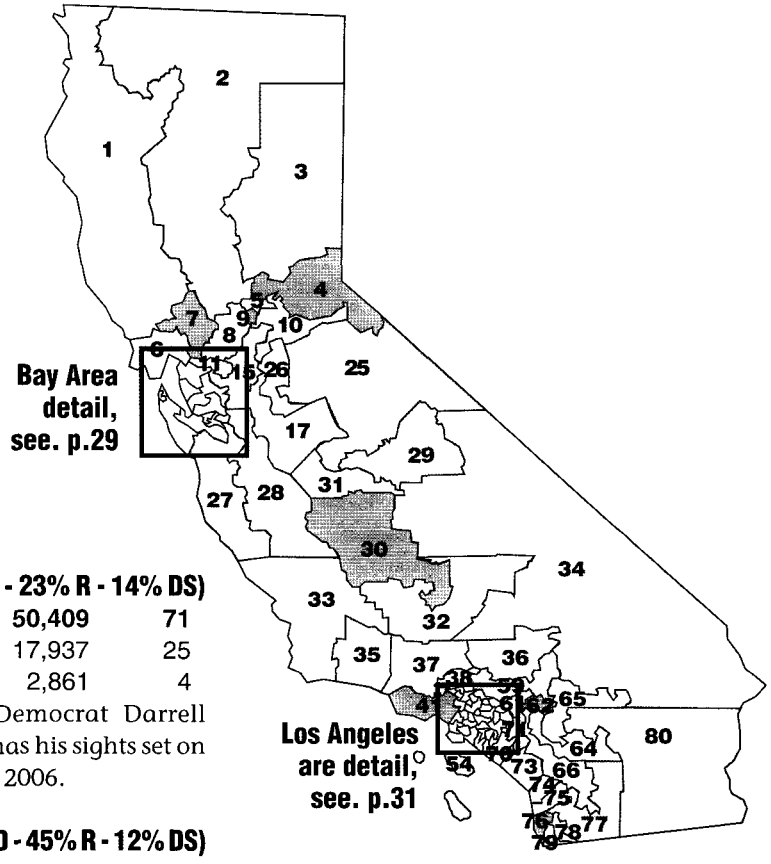
ELECTION 2002

Assembly

New assembly makeup — 80 seats

PARTY		GENDER		ETHNICITY	
Democrats	48	men	55	white	52
Republican	32	women	25	latino	18
				black	4
				asian	6



DISTRICT 1 (46% D - 30% R - 15% DS)

Berg (D)	**58,183**	**48**
Brown (R)	48,218	40
Thron (G)	13,961	12

DISTRICT 2 (55% D - 48% R - 12% DS)

Kinyon (D)	33,710	30
LaMalfa (R)	**76,893**	**67**
Bret (L)	3,890	3

DISTRICT 3 (55% D - 43% R - 15% DS)

King (D)	39,476	34
Keene (R)	**71,136**	**61**
Peterson (L)	5,459	5

DISTRICT 4 (34% D - 47% R - 14% DS)

Warren (D)	39,963	34
Leslie (R*)	**78,788**	**66**

DISTRICT 5 (38% D - 45% R - 14% DS)

Ulis (D)	31,995	31
Cox (R*)	**66,519**	**65**
Leibman (L)	4,541	4

Assembly Minority Leader Dave Cox has a little more to work with next year after the GOP picked up two additional seats on Election Day, giving the Republican caucus 32 members.

DISTRICT 6 (50% D - 27% R - 17% DS)

Nation (D*)	**83,214**	**69**
Hitt (R)	32,676	27
Olmstead (L	4,750	4

DISTRICT 7 (52% D - 29% R - 14% DS)

Wiggins (D*)	**67,778**	**76**
Kozlowski (L)	21,518	24

DISTRICT 8 (47% D - 32% R - 16% DS)

Wolk (D)	**52,274**	**58**
Munn (R)	37,825	42

DISTRICT 9 (57% D - 23% R - 14% DS)

Steinberg (D*)	**50,409**	**71**
Pegos (R)	17,937	25
Poston (L)	2,861	4

Sacramento Democrat Darrell Steinberg already has his sights set on the state Senate in 2006.

DISTRICT 10 (40% D - 45% R - 12% DS)

Maestas (D)	41,131	40
Nakanishi (R)	**61,001**	**60**

Although they made grunting noises about snatching this seat away from Republicans, low Democratic turnout destroyed any chance for Democrats to capture the district, which stretches south from Sacramento into solid Republican territory north of Stockton and east into GOP strongholds in the Sierra foothills. Republican Alan Nakanishi had good name ID, thanks to his years on the Lodi City Council and his credible run for the state Senate two years ago against Democrat Mike Machado. More than $90,000 in contributions to Katherine Maestas by the Democratic Party kept her campaign afloat, while Nakanishi raised six times that amount from a variety of sources. Maestas tried to make an issue of Nakanishi's record in Lodi, citing fiscal problems with the city's utility, but her effort earned a

Maestes

Nakanishi

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stiff rebuke from the head of that utility. Mostly, however, the contest featured a classic battle between self-proclaimed conservative and liberal contenders who differed widely on key issues such as gun control, pollution control and growth. Unfortunately for Maestas, this is not cozy territory for the left, especially a liberal with government experience limited to staff work and a seat on the Sacramento Planning Commission. Even the normally Democrat-friendly *Sacramento Bee* endorsed Nakanishi, noting that he was better prepared for the job. In the end, Nakanishi carried all four counties in the district.

DISTRICT 11 (54% D - 27% R - 14% DS)

Canciamilla (D*)	**54,750**	**65**
Denny (R)	26,199	31
Manske (L)	3,335	4

DISTRICT 12 (54% D - 15% R - 26% DS)

Yee (D)	**70,851**	**78**
Epstein (R)	14,398	16
Denny (L)	5,861	6

DISTRICT 13 (57% D - 12% R - 24% DS)

Leno (D)	**89,020**	**82**
Neira (R)	15,159	14
Maden (L)	5,067	5

DISTRICT 14 (58% D - 18% R - 16% DS)

Hancock (D)	**931183**	**100**

Loni Hancock's husband, Democrat Tom Bates, held this seat for 20 years before term limits caught up with him in 1996. Bates' chief of staff — Democrat Dion Aroner — held it for the next six years before she, too, was termed out. Now, it's Hancock's turn. In a related note, Bates was elected mayor of Berkeley on November 5 — a job Hancock held while Bates was in the Assembly.

DISTRICT 15 (38% D - 44% R - 14% DS)

Gerber (D)	54,966	46
Houston (R)	**63,740**	**54**

Unlike AD 10, where dreams of a take-away mostly were wishful thinking, Democrats thought they had a real chance to capture this largely redrawn district, held for the past six years by Republican Lynne Leach. They had the candidate — popular Contra

Gerber

Houston

Costa Supe. Donna Gerber; the resources to blanket the district with mail and TV ads; and endorsements from several major newspapers, including the *Livermore Independent, San Francisco Chronicle* and *The Sacramento Bee*. They thought, too, they had the upper hand on an issue critical to area voters — growth. Even so, all the planets had to line up in the proper order for Democrats to win. And one planet went astray. That would be a motive on the part of Democrats to show up on Election Day. Republican turnout was stronger, propelling former Dublin Mayor Guy Houston into the Assembly. Houston, who nearly matched Gerber's treasury, was endorsed by Gerber's hometown paper — the *Contra Costa Times* — which cited Houston's fiscal conservatism and pragmatic approach as reasons for its support. During the campaign, which cost each side about $1 million, Gerber hit Houston for being in the pocket of developers and put him on the defensive over contributions from tobacco, pro-life and anti-gun control groups. Houston slapped back, accusing Gerber of cowtowing to big labor and raising the fear that she would vote for tax hikes in Sacramento. The two also differed on the issue of family leave, backed by Gerber but opposed by Houston. The latter disagreement, among others, brought Houston support from the state Chamber of Commerce, also grumpy over Gerber's anti-development track record. The finish was not close. Houston won the district's three vote-rich counties, including Gerber's own Contra Costa, where he amassed 52% to Gerber's 48%. He won by bigger margins in the chunks of Alameda and Sacramento counties included in AD 15. Gerber prevailed only in the few San Joaquin Co. precincts attached to the district's eastern rim.

DISTRICT 16 (63% D - 12% R - 18% DS)

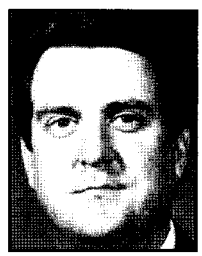
Chan (D*)	**73,252**	**84**
Nugent (R)	10,973	13
Armstrong (L)	2,834	3

One district where Democratic turn out didn't hurt their candidate.

DISTRICT 17 (50% D - 39% R - 8% DS)

Matthews (D*)	**40,226**	**56**
McCabe (R)	31,519	44

Matthews


McCabe

At the beginning of the fall election season, Democrat Barbara Matthews was the one incumbent Democrats most worried over. Her voter-registration edge had eroded from its 53%-35% high-water mark in 2001 down to 47%-42% after the March 2002 primary, and half of the district was new territory for her because of the 2001 redistricting. But a million bucks and a strong summer-fall registration drive later, Matthews was breathing easier. Not that she and her campaign didn't have moments of doubt, thanks to the aggressive effort waged by Republican Brian McCabe, whose campaign had less than half the amount in Matthews' treasury. Although underfunded, McCabe had enough resources to launch a series of attack ads against Matthews in early October, accusing the incumbent of, among other indiscretions, voting to give the Los Angeles Lakers $1 million. The charge grew out of Matthews' support for a transportation grant that funded a bus line to Staples Arena, the Lakers' home court. Matthews hit back in late October, calling the ad false and noting that she had played a major role in funding for the new UC campus in Merced. Assembly Democrats also dispatched a small army of precinct-walkers from Sacramento in late October to bolster Matthews'

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ground effort McCabe's chances of capturing the seat were predicated on winning his home base in Merced Co. by a wide enough margin to offset Matthews' strength in San Joaquin Co. That thought wasn't lost on Democrats, who also focused on Merced, lavishing chunks of their ample resources on strong registration and get-out-the-vote efforts. And although McCabe carried Merced, it proved a narrow, 600-vote win out of more than 40,000 votes cast — not nearly enough home-base fire power to overcome Matthews' 10,000-vote bulge in San Joaquin.

DISTRICT 18 (56% D - 24% R - 16% DS)

Corbett (D*)	**56,581**	**72**
Hovingh (R)	22,536	28

DISTRICT 19 (51% D - 27% R - 18% DS)

Mullin (D)	**57,947**	**63**
Kawas (R)	23,789	26
Chamberlain (G)	9,242	10
Giedt (L)	1,734	2

DISTRICT 20 (48% D - 27% R - 21% DS)

Dutra (D*)	**50,550**	**67**
Dow (R)	21,737	29
Lyon (L)	3,467	5

DISTRICT 21 (45% D - 33% R - 18% DS)

Simitian (D*)	**62,774**	**61**
Russell (R)	37,208	36
Bell (L)	3,773	4

DISTRICT 22 (44% D - 29% R - 23% DS)

Lieber (D)	**45,817**	**58**
Kawczynski (R)	28,884	37
Watson (L)	3,804	5

DISTRICT 23 (53% D - 22% R - 21% DS)

Diaz (D*)	**39,324**	**82**
Bloomberg (G)	8,939	18

DISTRICT 24 (46% D - 32% R - 18% DS)

Cohn (D*)	**65,322**	**100**

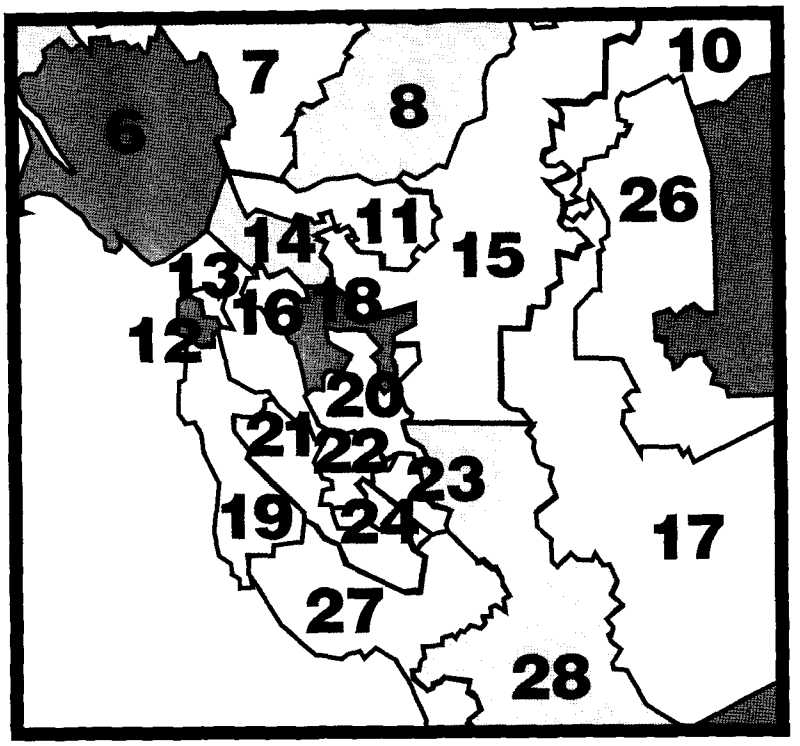
Yawn.

DISTRICT 25 (40% D - 45% R - 10% DS)

Smith (D)	40,741	38
Cogdill (R*)	**66,552**	**62**

DISTRICT 26 (45% D - 44% R - 8% DS)

Hallinan (D)	33,780	43
Aghazarian (R)	**34,626**	**57**



After Democrats seeded Tom Hallinan's campaign with $50,000 during the summer, it was assumed that Republican Greg Aghazarian was high on the target list and would be the subject of an aggressive, well-thought-out assault. Nah.

DISTRICT 27 (47% D - 30% R - 16% DS)

Laird (D)	**68,084**	**60**
Carter (R)	39,555	36
Sachtjen (L)	3,824	4

DISTRICT 28 (52% D - 30% R - 14% DS)

Salinas (D*)	**39,203**	**61**
Howard (R)	25,068	39

DISTRICT 29 (37% D - 50% R - 10% DS)

Martinez (D)	35,754	36
Samuelian (R)	**60,894**	**61**
Zwickel (L)	3,485	4

DISTRICT 30 (50% D - 37% R - 9% DS)

Parra (D)	**26,203**	**50**
Gardner (R)	26,016	50

First, don't look at the results. Just read: Democrats held a 13-point registration edge and outspent their Republican challenger roughly 10-to-1. In addition, their candidate was the daughter of a popular supervisor from Kern Co., which supplied the district's largest chunk of registered voters. *And,* their candidate was Hispanic in a district where 60% of the population and 40% of registered voters are Latino. *And* their candidate was the number-one priority for the United Farm Workers, which has long and deep roots in the district and owns a network of radio stations that broadcast into every corner of the region. *And* their candidate had government experience as district aide to the area's popular Democratic congressman, Cal Dooley. Republicans, on the other hand, were represented by a white businessman from Bakersfield with no elective base and little government experience. Moreover, his total expenditures for the entire election (through October 19) were far less than half the dollars the Democrat raised during the first three weeks of October alone. Okay, now look at the results. Surprised? Democrat Nicole Parra and her allies probably were, because they had just paid about $50 a vote for an election margin that screams for a recount. By comparison, Republican Dean Gardner paid about $8 a vote for what may yet become the political upset of the year. Just two weeks before the election, a poll taken by *The Bakersfield Californian* indicated that Parra held what the paper called a "dominant

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Parra

Gardner

lead" of 20 points. But the poll also showed that nearly half the voters were "undecided," although Parra also led 2-to-1 among the fence-sitters. That poll and others may have given Democrats a false sense of confidence, for they pulled resources away from Parra and invested them elsewhere — primarily in highly competitive races in ADs 80 and 78. As a result, there was no huge, final push for Parra. Gardner, meanwhile, went on the attack, alleging that Parra lied about his past termination as a teacher in Antelope Valley and accusing her of wanting to raise taxes on farmers. Parra fired back, but her response was defensive as a quiet campaign gradually sank into the mud. Still, the attack ads and mudslinging don't begin to explain the disparity between the *Californian's* poll, Parra's built-in advantages and the final result — probably because the poll neglected to ask how many voters planned to stay home on Election Day. The answer to that question would have been significant, especially among Democrats and Latinos. District turnout was around 44%, below even the record-shattering low statewide turnout rate. And the 10% turnout among Latino voters cited in a *Los Angeles Times'* exit poll seems to have carried into this corner of the state. Provided the final, official tally certifies Parra's victory, she can give the lion's share of credit to her father's constituents. Parra won 62% of the vote in Kern County, including more than 70% of her father Pete's supervisorial district. Overall, Kern gave her a 4,700-vote edge. Gardner, on the other hand, handily carried portions of Fresno, Kings and Tulare counties included in AD 30. They perhaps ferried him close enough at press time to force a recount before the final winner is declared.

DISTRICT 31 (53% D - 34% R - 9% DS)		
Reyes (D*)	**39,727**	**100**

DISTRICT 32 (32% D - 54% R - 11% DS)		
Shea (D)	24,613	24
McCarthy (R)	**77,227**	**76**

DISTRICT 33 (36% D - 44% R - 14% DS)		
Houlgate (D)	40,751	37
Maldonado (R*)	**69,171**	**63**

DISTRICT 34 (36% D - 48% R - 12% DS)		
Gurrola (D)	24,986	35
Maze (R)	**47,176**	**65**

DISTRICT 35 (44% D - 34% R - 15% DS)		
Jackson (D*)	**69,851**	**62**
Pohl (R)	35,872	32
Thomas (L)	2,911	3
Savitch (RF)	3,720	3

DISTRICT 36 (37% D - 45% R - 13% DS)		
Davenport (D)	25,833	36
Runner (R)	**45,856**	**64**

This would be Sharon Runner, wife of Republican Assm. George Runner, who was termed out in 2002. Her most impressive win came in the March primary when she dispatched longtime GOP legislator Phil Wyman.

DISTRICT 37 (35% D - 46% R - 14% DS)		
Thomas (D)	43,244	37
Strickland (R*)	**74,026**	**63**

DISTRICT 38 (36% D - 45% R - 15% DS)		
Calderon (D)	36,951	35
Richman (R*)	**63,601**	**61**
Lembke (L)	4,014	4

Republican Keith Richman, *California Journal's* "rookie of the year" for 2001-02, was a busy fellow during this election season. Not only did he win re-election to the Assembly, he also won the race for mayor of the new city of San Fernando Valley. Unfortunately, there isn't a city of San Fernando Valley thanks to the area's failed effort to secede from Los Angeles.

DISTRICT 39 (60% D - 20% R - 15% DS)		
Montanez (D)	**35,707**	**76**
Ayao (R)	11,241	24

DISTRICT 40 (49% D - 31% R - 15% DS)		
Levine (D)	**43,258**	**57**
Friedman (R)	33,416	44

DISTRICT 41 (49% D - 31% R - 16% DS)		
Pavley (D*)	**70,071**	**62**
Wissot (R)	39,898	35
Kelly (L)	4,132	4

DISTRICT 42 (55% D - 22% R - 18% DS)		
Koretz (D*)	**81,674**	**74**
Bissiri (R)	28,272	26

DISTRICT 43 (45% D - 33% R - 17% DS)		
Frommer (D*)	**45,417**	**61**
Geyer (R)	26,055	35
Woren (L)	3,128	4

Sophomore Dario Frommer is said to be among the ambitious legislators already lining up votes for speaker of the Assembly once the current speaker, Herb Wesson, nears the term-limit graveyard.

DISTRICT 44 (46% D - 34% R - 16% DS)		
Liu (D*)	**59,105**	**60**
O'Connell (R)	36,340	37
New (L)	2,918	3

DISTRICT 45 (60% D - 17% R - 17% DS)		
Goldberg (D*)	**39,318**	**86**
Cook (L)	6,631	14

DISTRICT 46 (68% D - 12% R - 14% DS)		
Nunez (D)	**26,651**	**86**
Aldana (R)	4,200	14

DISTRICT 47 (67% D - 14% R - 15% DS)		
Wesson (D*)	**70,947**	**82**
Leonard (R)	13,078	15
Clemens (L)	2,678	3

Ah, the hazards of leadership. Assembly Democrats always knew it would be tough to defend 50 seats, yet when the caucus lost a pair of districts on Election Day (ADs 78 and 80), some natives were restless. It is said that grumblings about Herb Wesson's speakership were audible, although no one mustered enough support to topple him at the first caucus meeting after the election.

DISTRICT 48 (73% D - 9% R - 12% DS)		
Ridley-Thomas (D)	**40,300**	**88**
Robinson (R)	4,318	9
Herdegen (L)	1,378	3

DISTRICT 49 (48% D - 27% R - 21% DS)		
Chu (D*)	**36,984**	**67**
Shen (R)	18,145	33

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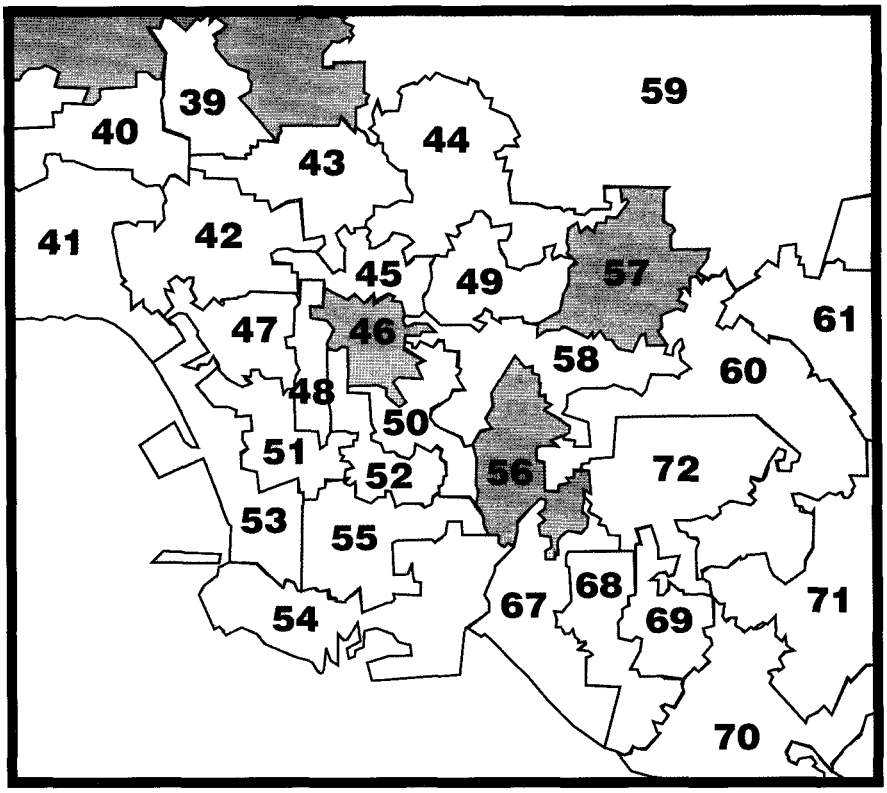

DISTRICT 50 (53% D - 18% R - 13% DS)

Firebaugh (D*)	**30,542**	**73**
Miller (R)	11,246	27

DISTRICT 51 (65% D - 17% R - 13% DS)

Horton (D*)	**49,021**	**100**

DISTRICT 52 (74% D - 8% R - 10% DS)

Dymally (D)	**35,434**	**90**
Iles (R)	4,142	10

Merv Dymally has been a member of the Legislature (way back when), a member of Congress (the '80s) and the state's lieutenant governor (1974-78). Now, at age 76, he returns to the Assembly — and to a serious boost in his pension.

DISTRICT 53 (42% D - 36% R - 17% DS)

Nakano (D*)	**67,551**	**61**
Wilson (R)	42,712	39

DISTRICT 54 (45% D - 36% R - 14% DS)

Lowenthal (D*)	**58,321**	**60**
Castellanos (R)	38,877	40

DISTRICT 55 (56% D - 24% R - 14% DS)

Oropeza (D*)	**47,279**	**80**
Wilson (L)	11,498	20

With Dario Frommer, sophomore Jenny Oropeza is said to be among those angling for the speakership once Herb Wesson steps aside.

DISTRICT 56 (52% D - 29% R - 15% DS)

Bermudez (D)	**38,648**	**62**
Brantuk (R)	24,246	38

DISTRICT 57 (52% D - 30% R - 14% DS)

Chavez (D*)	**38,712**	**65**
Moll (R)	19,358	32
Faegre (L)	1,498	3

DISTRICT 58 (55% D - 28% R - 13% DS)

R.Calderon (D)	**44,153**	**63**
Butler (R)	25,490	37

Ron Calderon follows brothers Charles (1982-1990) and Tom (1996-2002) into the Assembly.

DISTRICT 59 (34% D - 48% R - 13% DS)

Smith (D)	37,481	37
Mountjoy (R*)	**64,867**	**63**

DISTRICT 60 (32% D - 49% R - 16% DS)

Martinez (D)	27,602	31
Pacheco (R*)	**61,379**	**69**

DISTRICT 61 (50% D - 32% R - 13% DS)

McLeod (D*)	**30,836**	**63**
Munson (R)	18,567	38

DISTRICT 62 (57% D - 28% R - 11% DS)

Longville (D*)	**28,731**	**70**
Scott (R)	12,748	30

DISTRICT 63 (38% D - 46% R - 12% DS)

Wallace (D)	31,628	39
Dutton (R)	**49,276**	**61**

DISTRICT 64 (35% D - 49% R - 12% DS)

Melsh (D)	29,770	37
Benoit (R)	**50,377**	**63**

DISTRICT 65 (36% D - 48% R - 11% DS)

Scholes (D)	31,182	37
Bogh (R*)	**53,467**	**63**

Row, row, row your boat, gently down the stream. Merrily, merrily, merrily, merrily, strife is but a dream...

DISTRICT 66 (30% D - 53% R - 13% DS)

Brostrom (D)	24,699	32
Haynes (R)	**52,444**	**68**

Ray Haynes joins a list of termed-out state senators who prolonged their legislative careers by moving back to the lower house.

DISTRICT 67 (33% D - 48% R - 15% DS)

Orton (D)	30,988	31
Harman (R*)	**68,303**	**69**

DISTRICT 68 (35% D - 44% R - 17% DS)

Snook (D)	23,149	30
Maddox (R*)	**50,077**	**65**
Scribner (L)	3,706	5

DISTRICT 69 (51% D - 31% R - 14% DS)

Correa (D*)	**24,894**	**65**
Ross (R)	13,228	35

DISTRICT 70 (28% D - 52% R - 16% DS)

Kane (D)	32,822	30
Campbell (R*)	**72,463**	**67**
Studier (L)	3,135	3

DISTRICT 71 (28% D - 55% D - 14% DS)

Foster (D)	25,011	27
Spitzer (R)	**67,923**	**73**

Todd Spitzer was touted as leadership material before he ever set foot inside the Legislature, mostly because he ended the campaign with close to $700,000 in his campaign treasury after having spent about 30 cents to win election. That gives the Orange County rookie "presence" in Sacramento.

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DISTRICT 72 (33% D - 49% R - 14% DS)

Nanjundappa (D)	21,473	28
Daucher (R*)	**51,845**	**68**
Cross (L)	3,147	4

DISTRICT 73 (28% D - 51% R - 16% DS)

Calzada (D)	25,955	29
Bates (R*)	**60,549**	**67**
Vondruska (L)	3,570	4

DISTRICT 74 (30% D - 47% R - 18% DS)

Herrera (D)	36,223	33
Wyland (R*)	**60,549**	**61**
Stone (L)	6,188	6

DISTRICT 75 (29% D - 46% R - 20% DS)

Witt (D)	42,485	39
Plescia (R)	**64,306**	**59**
Senecal (L)	3,139	3

DISTRICT 76 (40% D - 33% R - 19% DS)

Kehoe (D*)	**63,590**	**62**
Divine (R)	34,805	34
Baker (L)	3,576	4

DISTRICT 77 (31% D - 47% R - 16% DS)

Lowery (D)	30,221	29
LaSuer (R*)	**70,191**	**67**
Hall(L)	5,235	5

DISTRICT 78 (43% D - 35% R - 16% DS)

Hall (D)	44,215	48
Horton (R)	**45,844**	**49**
Menanno(L)	2,823	3

At last, at last, at good long last — the Republican Party captured AD 78 after more than a decade of trying to pry it out of the hands of Democrats. And what an ironic win. In years past, the likes of Lucy Killea, Dede Alpert and Howard Wayne kept the 78th firmly in Democratic hands, despite voter-registration numbers that often favored Republicans. But that was the old, pre-redistricting AD 78. The new one resembles the previous version in number only; not one precinct of the old 78th was included when map-makers created this district in 2001. Ostensibly, they made it friendlier for Democrats, and it was counted as a Democratic district in the status-quo reapportionment plan approved by both parties. But Republicans took it away, thanks to Chula Vista Mayor Shirley Horton, lots of resources and low voter turnout that benefitted the GOP.

Hall

Horton

Democrat Vince Hall, a former top staffer to Gov. Gray Davis, pulled the short stick in what turned out to be an expensive and highly competitive campaign. Both Horton and Hall were well-funded, although Hall had the bigger treasury. He had forked out over $1 million by mid-October, with another $243,000 still in the bank. Horton, on the other hand, had spent $719,000 over the same period, with $60,000 in the bank. A wealth of independent expenditures poured into the district, as well, one of which backfired on Horton when the realtors' association paid for a late-October phone bank on her behalf. Callers informed voters that the area's congressman, Democrat Bob Filner, had endorsed Horton — which was untrue; Filner backed Hall, who once had worked for him. Both Filner and Hall went ballistic, accusing Horton of a dirty trick and threatening to sue her. Horton argued that she had nothing to do with the errant message, which was true. It took several days before the realtors fessed up to the mistake, but by then an already messy campaign had plunged off an abyss and into deep mud. The two candidates spent the final days hurling invectives at each other in the mail and over the airwaves. Hall grumped that Horton was a lightweight who would be hopelessly outclassed in Sacramento. He also cited the fact that she missed 11 of 16 candidate forums after poor performances early in the campaign and that she had been less than candid regarding her stance on abortion (she's pro-choice but disapproves of government funding). Horton countered that Hall was unethical and overly ambitious and had invented fictitious backing from various interest groups, was under a cloud for business practices, and was nothing more than a Sacramento insider. At the end of the day, however, Hall was undone by the great partisan bugaboo of 2002 — Democratic ennui prompted by lack of interest in anything on the ballot. That hurt most in competitive races such as this one and likely propelled Horton to victory.

DISTRICT 79 (47% D - 31% R - 16% DS)

Vargas (D*)	**37,387**	**66**
Fast (R)	17,152	30
Castro (L)	2,264	4

DISTRICT 80 (46% D - 38% R - 12% DS)

Acuna (D)	30,522	49
Garcia (R)	**31,932**	**51**

Acuna

Garcia

Take $1.5 million, mix it with a decent voter-registration edge and a candidate who is not a felon — and you normally have a recipe for success. Unless, of course, all those folks you expect to back your nominee on Election Day decide to rent an Arnold Schwarzenegger flick or mow the lawn or take the kids for a pizza — or do just about anything else but vote. "Unless" happened to Democrat Joey Acuna Jr. District turnout was 41%, a good distance below statewide turnout, which was a good distance below the worst turnout in California history. Add to Democratic no-shows the fact that Republican Bonnie Garcia ran a finely tuned, aggressive campaign that itself spent nearly $1 million, and you have a GOP victory in a district that was supposed to produce a Democrat. Both sides went negative down the stretch, although Garcia's hits seem to have made deeper dents in Acuna's hide. Acuna began the campaign by accusing Garcia of financial shenanigans in the purchase of HUD homes, which she eventually fixed up and sold. Garcia denied that she had done anything improper, then sued Acuna and

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his consultant Richie Ross for slander, asking only $1 in damages. She also produced affidavits from HUD, giving her a clean bill of health. Garcia then fired back, slamming Acuna for refusing to release his tax returns. But the attack that may have done the most damage focused on a decision Acuna made while a community college trustee. Acuna once had voted against allowing drug-sniffing dogs to whiff at student lockers, and the Garcia camp had a field day — launching a series of attack ads that savaged Acuna on law-and-order issues. The attack was reinforced when Garcia was one of the few Republicans endorsed by the prison guards' union. Both sides used heavy party resources to savage each other down the stretch and to fuel critical get-out-the-vote efforts on Election Day. Internal polls during the final week showed Acuna comfortably ahead, but his campaign's projections were based on a 50% turnout rate, thought to be a conservative estimate. When turnout fell substantially below 50%, Acuna was in trouble. He was especially hurt in Imperial Co., where Democrats outnumber Republicans nearly 2-to-1 but where turnout was a wretched 35%. Garcia carried the county by nearly 1,000 votes. She also won GOP-leaning Riverside Co., but by only 600 votes out of 45,000 cast — leading to speculation that Garcia really was elected by no-show Democrats in Imperial.

Propositions

46: Housing and Emergency Shelter Trust Fund

Yes	**3,709,257**	**58%**
No	2,741,237	42%

47: K-University School Bonds

Yes	**3,846,045**	**59%**
No	2,678,389	41%

48: Court Consolidation

Yes	**4,404,927**	**73%**
No	1,667,105	27%

49: After-School Programs

Yes	**3,671,696**	**57%**
No	2,816,329	43%

50: Water Bonds

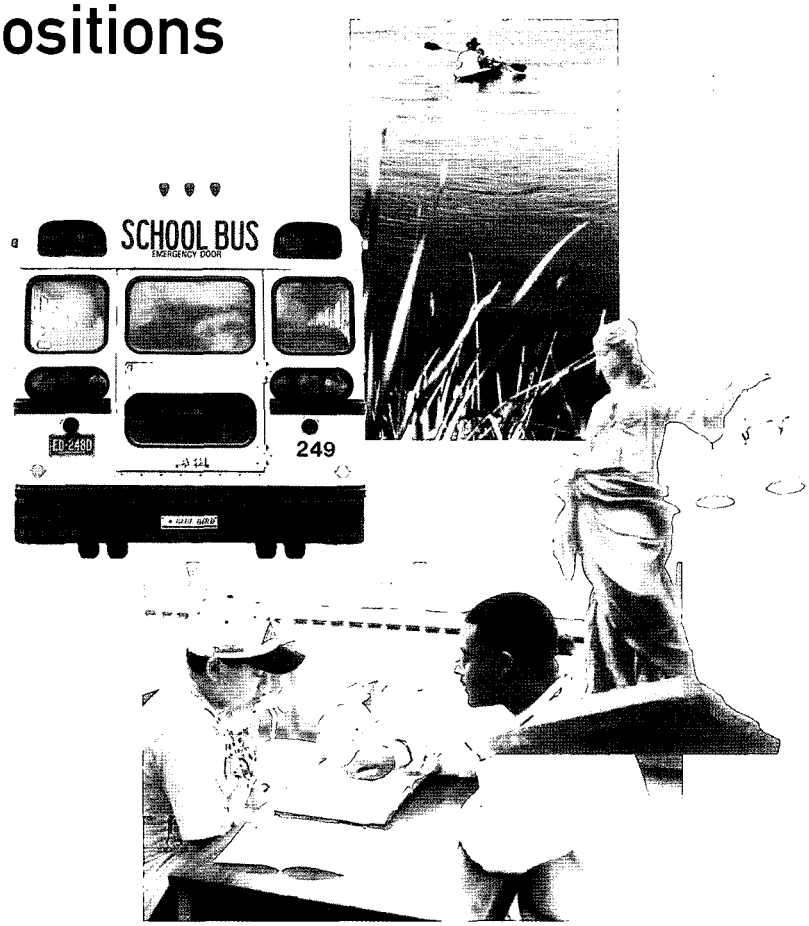
Yes	**3,441,881**	**55%**
No	2,860,619	45%

51: Transportation

Yes	2,580,778	41%
No	**3,658,925**	**59%**

52: Election Day Voter Registration

Yes	2,621,767	41%
No	**3,816,206**	**59%**



The thin slate of seven propositions that appeared on the November 2002 ballot was about as dull as the rest of this election, offering the chance to set spending priorities for the state but, with one exception, not requiring voters to decide substantial or controversial policy issues. There was, for instance, nothing like Prop. 187, the 1994 initiative that denied a range of benefits to illegal immigrants; or Prop. 209, the 1996 measure that did away with affirmative action programs; or Prop. 34, the 2000 initiative that tried to reform the way campaigns are financed.

State spending was affected by three bond proposals and two initiatives that mandated spending for special programs. Props. 46 and 47 were bond measures placed on the ballot by the Legislature. The first provided $2.1 billion for a variety of housing needs designed to help the poor find adequate places to live. The second was the largest school bond in state history, providing $13 billion for fixing up old and building new schools at every step along the education

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ladder. Both were approved with virtually identical voting patterns: They passed in coastal areas, and also along the Mexican border; they failed in most of the far north state and mountainous areas. The housing bond also went down in San Luis Obispo and Orange counties. A third bond measure, Prop. 50, was an initiative sponsored by environmental groups. Although more controversial than 46 and 47, it passed as well. Most of the controversy centered on the fact that some of its proponents and financial sugar daddies stood to benefit from spending mandated by its language. Voters, however, were willing to overlook that criticism because the money will go for improved water quality and for environmental protection.

In fact, despite the state's deepening financial troubles, voters again demonstrated that they were, for the most part, willing to spend when told how funds would be spent, a notion reinforced by the success of Prop. 49.

A non-bond proposal, Prop. 49 was the brainchild of actor Arnold Schwarzenegger, a Republican seen as a potential candidate for statewide office. It expanded after-school programs for children by dramatically increasing the money spent on them, from $95 million in the current year to $550 million once it fully takes effect in 2004. It was precisely that spending increase that caused some education groups to join with a handful of prominent Democrats to oppose the measure, saying it would lock in cash for after-school activities and potentially divert resources from other, more important educational programs. They argued that the expansion was well-intentioned but ill-conceived and betrayed Schwarzenegger's naivety about state government. But Schwarzenegger campaigned tirelessly on behalf of Prop. 49, rehearsing for what many believe will be an even more substantial political role in 2006. Although opponents tried to hammer home the idea that Prop. 49 would deny education officials the flexibility to deal with budget priorities, their message was blinded by the aura of celebrity surrounding Schwarzenegger. What was clearly on display during the campaign was the actor's star power, which has some Republicans salivating over his ballot potential as a candidate. Nor was his performance lost on Democrats and may have prompted the likes of state Treas. Phil Angelides to oppose Prop. 49. Ironically, the measure passed in Democratic areas but lost in some counties where Republicans hold sway.

Voters were not willing to go along with another spending proposal, however: Prop. 51, an initiative from the California Planning and Conservation League. It would have redirected 30% of the taxes collected on the sale and lease of motor vehicles from the general fund to a newly created trust fund. Money from the trust then would be spent for a variety of projects, many of which not only were specified in the initiative but also benefitted those who had contributed to the Prop. 51 campaign. As a result, Prop. 51 generated a wealth of bad publicity when it was revealed that among the blessed were such questionable projects as golf-cart lanes at retirement villages and a rail stop at a Palm Springs casino run by the Agua Caliente tribe, which had contributed $250,000 to help pass Prop. 51. Special interests not fed from the initiative's larder opposed it over fear that programs near and dear to their hearts would suffer as money was diverted into the Prop. 51 trust fund. The measure was defeated in every county in the state.

The only policy issue concerned the ability of citizens to register to vote on Election Day. Embodied as Prop. 52, it was sponsored by Rob McKay, wealthy heir to the Taco Bell fortune, who sank $5.5 million from his own wallet into the effort. McKay and his allies argued that Prop. 52 would enhance voter turnout by allowing any qualified citizen to vote in an election, whether that person had previously registered or not. But for all its financial advantage — proponents outspent the opposition 19-to-1 — voters were more swayed by opponents, who argued that Prop. 52 was a recipe for fraud. They also countered proponents' claims that current law permanently disenfranchised many eligible voters by pointing out that any eligible citizen can vote if he or she is responsible and attentive. Prop. 52 trailed almost from the beginning of the campaign and, in truth, had little chance of passing because its fate was decided by those who had registered to vote. It lost in all but three counties: San Francisco, Marin and Alameda.

The only other matter before voters was Prop. 48, a constitutional amendment from the Legislature that sought to clean up a few loose ends left behind in the wake of the passage of Prop. 220 in 1998. That measure consolidated municipal and superior courts, but language referring to municipal courts remained in the state constitution. Prop. 48 removed that language. It passed overwhelmingly.

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by Dan Schnur

Everybody knows that California politics is nothing more than an endless chase for campaign contributions, which are then used to finance an endless stream of campaign commercials. That same conventional wisdom holds that grass-roots organizing is as outdated as buggy whips, and that a candidate's ability to attract news media attention is as irrelevant as their preference in breakfast cereal.

But while advertising dollars are certainly a necessity for most successful statewide campaigns, there is evidence in the wreckage of this year's election results that the frequently dismissed skill of delivering a campaign's message through the news media also can be critical.

Because news audiences continue to shrink, leaving ever-growing majorities of the electorate to receive their political information from television ads and direct mail, it's easy to dismiss the importance of favorable news coverage. But as two of this year's most prominent campaigns learned the hard way, giving short shrift to the state's political press corps can directly impact a campaign's ability to raise the money necessary to compete in the paid media. Because even if fewer people are reading newspaper stories about politics, those who still do follow campaign news coverage have a disproportionate impact on the outcome.

The two campaigns that frequently frustrated supporters were Bill Simon's Republican campaign for governor and San Fernando Valley's effort to secede from Los Angeles. Both began the general election campaign riding waves of momentum, both appeared to have the money needed to compete and both had demonstrated the potential to appeal to broad swaths of the electorate.

In both cases, however, it became clear to Simon and secession strategists that financial contributions were falling short of their expectations. For the last months of the election cycle, campaign spokesmen frequently lamented the funding imbalance they were facing. By Election Day, both campaigns were defeated by opponents who had outspent them by lavish margins.

But what both campaign teams seem to have missed is that very few potential donors are willing to write checks simply out of obligation or loyalty. Most contribute money to a candidate or a cause when they are motivated. And all the campaign-generated letters, e-mails and phone calls in the world provide relatively little motivation compared to news coverage of the candidate's speeches, interviews or policy views. Without the independent credibility provided by newspaper stories and television accounts, it's less likely that any but the most committed donors will give.

But what both campaign teams seem to have missed is that very few potential donors are willing to write checks simply out of obligation or loyalty.

Think of the news media's political impact in terms of a series of concentric circles. Informed political observers tend to be opinion leaders: their actions on behalf of a cause can motivate their friends, neighbors and co-workers. If they don't have sufficient information available to them, they're probably not going to get others to volunteer, make financial contributions or vote.

During the spring and early summer months that followed the primary election, both Simon and secession leaders maintained an extremely low public profile. Advisors talked about the importance of devoting time to fund raising. Public events were devoted to appearances with the campaigns' most loyal supporters and included little of real news value.

So news coverage that would have allowed these campaigns to articulate their goals to the broader public was almost non-existent, depriving them of a necessary tool to build awareness and support. Even if most voters wouldn't have paid attention, the most influential members of the electorate — including those — would certainly have taken note. Simon's professional fund raisers continually faced the challenge of a lack of enthusiasm in the business community, which resulted largely from unflattering news coverage.

By fall, when media attention began to increase, impressions of the campaigns had already taken root. Both Simon and secession leaders constantly found themselves on the defensive, rebutting conventional wisdom about their prospects.

In the final weeks of a campaign, a well-funded and intelligent paid media strategy is obviously crucial. But underestimating the importance of an equally aggressive news media effort may have helped lead to their undoing.

Dan Schnur is a Republican political consultant in Sacramento. Comments may be sent to **edit@statenet.com.**

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Political judgments

Washington

Even here in Washington, where politics is sport, everyone complains about the frustration of judicial nominations. It can be so bad that it caused the White House to launch the great California compromise.

The unique idea — controversial in some GOP circles — gives Democratic senators Barbara Boxer and Dianne Feinstein a say in selecting judges for California vacancies on the federal bench. Now, unlike other regions, California trial-level vacancies are getting filled. And an utterly pragmatic system for screening judicial candidates has, on the surface at least, calmed partisan waters.

In this story, the Bush White House is siding with California's two Democratic senators and breaking with conservative Republicans. But when it comes to choosing judges for the federal bench, it's a compromise that satisfies everyone's self interest.

By Michael Doyle

"The confirmation process has really been done in record time," Feinstein said. And "the judges have basically been non-controversial."

Naming federal judges, of course, is a presidential prerogative. But there are also limits to White House say-so, as the Senate Judiciary Committee and then the full Senate get to confirm the choices. Willful senators can single-handedly hold up nominations for a long time, often leaving vacancies that slow the court process.

"Nominees are too often mistreated, votes are delayed, hearings are denied, and dozens of federal judgeships sit empty," President George Bush said in late October. "The judicial crisis is the result of a broken system, and we have a duty to repair it."

When Republicans took control of the Senate in last month's election, GOP leaders said the backlog of judicial nominees stalled by Democrats would proceed more rapidly. But minority party senators can still cause problems, and Feinstein said she expected that the compromise approach in California will continue.

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Illustration by Jon Krause

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California's bipartisan committees

The California compromise was initiated soon after Bush was elected president. Working through Los Angeles-based investor Gerald Parsky, the president's go-to guy for California, the White House joined with the Democratic senators to establish four bipartisan committees of private citizens that would vet potential district court nominees. Republicans chair the committees, one for each of the state's four federal judicial districts. Parsky screens the final candidates and the White House, of course, makes the final pick. Meaning, liberal activists need not apply.

The committees are evenly divided between three Democrats and three Republicans. It takes a majority vote for a candidate to survive, and those candidates selected essentially have the guaranteed support of the state's two senators. Meaning, the California nominees will have already demonstrated the bipartisan backing needed for Senate confirmation.

"I think it really offers a way of proceeding that lowers the blood pressure around here substantially," Feinstein said. "It just takes all the politics out of it."

Well, not *all* the politics.

In one early case, a candidate was explicitly pressed on the hot-button abortion issue. Some Republicans — including, but not limited to state Republican Party Chairman Shawn Steel — complain the White House sacrificed too much to the Democrats. He and other GOP critics say judicial nominations are one of the most important legacies for a president, not something to be compromised.

By design, California's selection committees are biased toward the gray, safe middle.

In some cases, these are unavoidable aspects of contemporary judicial selection. Paper trails now burden instead of buoy the prospects of whip-smart intellectual provocateurs, whatever their bench potential might otherwise be.

Another limitation, though, is that the bipartisan collaboration doesn't extend beyond the trial-level district courts. White House officials balked at allowing Democrats a role in the selection process for appellate court positions, which have significantly greater influence over the state of the law.

"The circuit court is not in the process, and the circuit court is where the problem is," acknowledged Feinstein, who serves on the Senate Judiciary Committee. Within their limited range, though, the judicial selection committees seem to offer an antidote to confirmation poison.

"I really think this is a positive development," Parsky said. "The judicial system in California needs additional qualified judges, and anything we can to do to advance the process of filling that need should be very positive."

Consider some contrasts, because they hint at California's relative progress.

Washington state, like California, has two Democratic senators. Unlike California, though, Washington's senators fought more than a year with the state's senior Republican House member over how judicial vacancies would be filled. As everyone kept maneuvering for the upper hand, a district court vacancy remained unfilled. Finally, this year, a nomination became possible after the Washington lawmakers reached an accommodation similar to California's joint committee approach.

New York, likewise, has two Democratic senators: Charles Schumer and Hilary Rodham Clinton. The Republican governor, George Pataki, initially thought he could simply pick judges as a form of patronage without consulting either senator. He was wrong, way wrong. New York has four district court vacancies, none of which have been filled during the Bush administration. Republicans and Democrats have since shown greater collaboration, and some New York nominees are starting to surface.

By design, California's selection committees are biased toward the gray, safe middle.

California filling vacancies

California's district courts, meanwhile, have had three vacancies filled from the start of the Bush administration through late October. Four of the five remaining vacancies have already been targeted with named nominees who secured bipartisan support from the judicial selection committees. These nominees, made public in July, should scoot through. Parsky said in late October that nominees for the remaining vacancies would be coming out soon.

The Federal Judiciary Center's website, at http://www.uscourts.gov/vacancies/01.html., details the latest nationwide bench vacancies and showcases how California's system stacks up.

"This seems like a decent idea, if you choose the right people," said Vigo "Chip" Nielsen, a veteran of state Republican politics who is serving on one of the California selection committees. "The concept, on its face, makes sense."

Nielsen, who formerly guided Pete Wilson in the selection of judicial nominees, emphasized the system is only as good as the people who implement it. There's loads of talent on the committees, no doubt. There are former U.S.

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attorneys, like Joseph Russoniello; former elected officials, like San Francisco's one-time supervisor and city attorney Louise Renne; retired state judges like Eugene Lynch. A number of the committee members, like Nielsen, used to help vet judges under prior systems.

Feinstein and Boxer name one appointee each to each district committee, and agree on the third Democrat. Parsky names the Republicans. The committees gear up once there's a formal vacancy.

U.S. Senator Dianne Feinstein

On June 30, 2001, for instance, U.S. District Judge Charles Legge retired from the federal bench in San Francisco. The judicial committee for the Northern District mobilized.

Twenty-nine lawyers and lower-level judges, some sitting on the San Francisco Superior Court bench, had submitted their names for consideration. Each filled out what Nielsen described as a "long, long questionnaire" designed to open up all the candidates' cupboards and closets.

Meeting in Russoniello's San Francisco office, the committee members divided up the candidates for winnowing. They logged endless search time on the medic database NEXIS-LEXIS, they talked to the candidates' friends, colleagues and rivals, and they tapped their own contacts for inside scoops.

The candidates were an impressive lot, though the judicial selection committees periodically encounter the prematurely ambitious.

"It's amazing to see some of the people who think they're qualified to be a federal judge," said Donald Fischbach, a Fresno lawyer who serves on the Eastern District selection committee. "You'll get someone who's only three years out of law school who thinks they should be a judge."

After the Northern District committee narrowed the list of candidates, some were summoned to Russoniello's office for interviews lasting about an hour. The committee members asked some common questions of the candidates, like whether they had ever written an opinion that might cause a problem for the senators who would be sitting in ultimate judgment.

A partisan undertone arose once, Nielsen recalled, when a Democratic vetter explicitly asked a candidate about the *Roe v. Wade* decision upholding a woman's right to an abortion. There's an art to such confirmation questions, involving circumlocution and the candidate's sidestepping insistence that they will uphold the law of the land. Republicans, though, thought the question's explicit thrust went over the line, into the zone of predicting how the potential judge would rule on a particular case.

The Republicans complained to Parsky, who went to Feinstein, who spoke to the Democratic vetter. And the problem, Parsky and Nielsen agreed, didn't repeat itself.

The committee unanimously submitted four names to Parsky. He conducted his own interviews and forwarded names on to White House counsel Alberto Gonzales. In July, the White House formally nominated Brooklyn native Jeffrey S. White, an environmental and product liability law specialist with the San Francisco firm Orrick, Herrington and Sutcliffe, to the job.

"It worked terribly comfortably," Nielsen said of the Northern California committee. "No one knew of any partisan agenda. Everyone was very helpful."

Republican criticism

Indeed, some GOP activists contend the system is *too* bipartisan.

Steel, the state Republican Party chairman, stressed this point this spring when he denounced the judicial selection system as "half-baked." An overly accommodating approach deprives the president of the opportunity to properly shape the federal bench, Steel contends; why, he asks, should Boxer and Feinstein, through their vetters, get to screen President Bush's nominees?

"These two lionesses of the left have taken Parsky's naive creation and are using it to eat him, and the president's judicial appointment power, alive," Steel wrote in a May *Los Angeles Times* column.

Steel's klaxon-blast certainly caught the White House's attention, though not the way he wanted. Within a few weeks, he was off the Republican National Committee's executive decision-making body. He insists it was his choice to leave, so he could devote himself to Bill Simon's Republican gubernatorial campaign in California.

Steel's allies have carried on with an Internet "Parsky Watch" designed to capture every accommodation, compromise and conciliatory move. The White House can't simply write off these GOP activists, whose anger and suspicion reflect the enduring ideological divisions within California Republican circles. But when push comes to shove, the White House also calculated it needs to do something about persistent vacancies.

Certainly, recent objections by Senate Democrats seem inspired by the never-forgive, never-forget doctrine of the Hatfields and McCoys. President Bill Clinton's administration watched Republicans stall its judicial nominees for years. Los Angeles Judge Richard Paez waited more than four years to be confirmed to the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals. San Francisco attorney Marsha Berzon waited more than two years. Margaret Morrow of Los Angeles, the first woman president of the California Bar Association, waited two years.

So, by cracky, it's been payback time for some of President Bush's choices. At least 15 Bush nominees to the federal bench have been waiting a year or more for their confirmation. Through October, they included some of the most successful advocates ever to appear before the Supreme Court,

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like University of Utah law professor Michael McConnell and Washington, D.C. attorney John Roberts Jr.

Feinstein and her fellow Democrats, on a strict party line vote that followed the script written by liberal advocacy groups, killed the nomination of the well-qualified Texas Supreme Court Judge Priscilla Owen.

Some well-qualified potential nominees, moreover, never even get that far.

Southern California Congressman Christopher Cox, for one, had his name bruited about last year for a 9th Circuit seat. Boxer squashed the idea, contending the veteran congressman had "extreme" views. It was a questionable assertion, at best, about a graduate of Harvard's law and business schools who was re-elected with 65.7 percent of the vote in 2000. It showed, however, what's become of the judicial selection process. Individual senators can bury candidates. Attorney General John Ashcroft mastered this shadowy art when he was a senator — and the rhetorical fight to claim the mainstream can itself quickly go extreme.

Among California lawyers, there's been some talk as well about one or two other supremely qualified potential candidates who've been knee-capped out of the running.

There's a price to be paid for all this. The Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts counts at least 29 "judicial emergencies" nationwide due to vacant positions that cause a dangerously high pileup of cases. These included nine judicial emergencies in the 9th Circuit, which covers California and eight other Western states.

The biggest confirmation problems, by far, occur with appellate court vacancies. District court slots are, as a rule, easier to fill, particularly when the same party controls the White House and a state's U.S. Senate seats. Consider Pennsylvania. The state's two GOP senators include one of the most senior members of the Senate Judiciary Committee. No wonder Pennsylvania has also had 11 federal district judges confirmed since Bush took office, more than any other state.

Pennsylvania now is in a similar position to California's during the Clinton administration, with two senators of the same party as the president. During such times, senators typically trade off making judicial recommendations to the president. Many of the people now serving on California's four judicial selection committees had previously helped vet candidates under the prior systems. They favorably compare the two.

"What has been most surprising about the working of the panel is how well we work together," said Holly Fujie, a Democratic lawyer from Los Angeles who helps select candidates in the Central District. "Despite the fact that we represent two different parties, meetings are never acrimonious, and all discussions are geared towards recommending the best candidates to the White House."

Sacramento nominee approved

Consider the selection of Morrison C. England Jr.

On May 27, 2000, Sacramento-based U.S. District Judge Lawrence Karlton elevated himself to senior status, leaving a vacancy on the bench. That was late enough in an election year that the opening was kicked over until the new administration.

Fischbach, the Fresno lawyer who helps screen candidates for the Eastern District, recalled that there were about 35 applicants. The committee members fanned out, scooping up information and narrowing the list down to seven or eight finalists who came in for interviews in Sacramento. Then it was herd-thinning time, as the vetters chose the four finalists.

"It's tough," Fischbach said, "when you come down to the last two or three people."

Bush formally nominated England on March 21, 2002. Things moved right along for the African-American graduate of the University of the Pacific, a Sacramento Superior Court Judge and one-time football coach. The Senate Judiciary Committee held a congenial hearing on June 13, and on August 1 the full Senate confirmed him.

At least one of California's judicial selection committees will be very busy next year, filling five new positions created in the San Diego-based Southern District. The other committees will mobilize as needed; attempting to keep California's federal bench well-stocked and the confirmation process moving along as collaboratively as possible.

"A lot of things," Nielsen said, "have to be bipartisan to get accomplished."

Among California lawyers, there's been some talk as well about one or two other supremely qualified potential candidates who've been knee-capped out of the running.

Michael Doyle is a reporter in the Washington bureau of McClatchy newspapers. Comments may be sent to **edit@statenet.com.**

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Lockyer's ballistics

by Dana Wilkie

Last October — as police here sought an elusive sniper who killed 10 people, wounded three and terrorized a region of 8 million — it took them three weeks, a few lucky tips and the suspects' own boasting to conclude that John Allen Muhammad and John Lee Malvo were the men they sought.

When police finally tracked them down and found a .223-caliber Bushmaster rifle in the trunk of their Chevrolet Caprice, ballistics fingerprinting helped authorities link the weapon to bullets found at the shooting scenes.

But imagine if ballistics fingerprinting had been more sophisticated. Imagine if police had been able to take those bullets run their "images" through a national database, link them to a single weapon, find where the gun was first sold, and trace it to Muhammad and Malvo? Police might have solved the sniper case more quickly.

In mid-October, as the sniper search grew frenzied and talk of such a database grew urgent, gun enthusiasts pointed to a study conducted under California Attorney General Bill Lockyer as proof such a system wouldn't work.

The report by the California Department of Justice's Bureau of Forensic Services discussed how computer matching systems — especially those involving firearms — typically return the names of several thousand candidates. Good old-fashioned footwork is the only way to trim that list down, the report said.

"This number...will be so large as to be impractical and will likely create logistic complications so great that they cannot be effectively addressed," wrote the study's author, Frederic Tulleners, director of the bureau's criminalistics laboratories in Sacramento and Santa Rosa.

Every time someone fires a gun, the bullet ejected and the casing left behind bear marks from the gun's bowels that cannot be duplicated by any other firearm. Call it the gun's "fingerprint" — a signature that theoretically could link any bullet anywhere in the world to the one gun that fired it. It is already used to link a fired bullet with a gun and criminal who are later found.

But with a national database, law enforcers could theoretically use a "library of bullets" — digital images of bullets and casings from every new gun sold — to track down a gun and criminal who can't be found. Only Maryland and New York require that ballistics data be kept on all handguns made and sold in those states.

As gun enthusiasts repeated the findings of the California report on national news shows, it sounded as if Lockyer — a Democrat who may eventually run for governor — did not support a national database, even as some lunatic was picking off lives in the Washington area. Meanwhile, polls were showing that vast majority of Americans supported a national database.

In late October, shortly after the sniper claimed his 12th victim, Lockyer's office put out a carefully worded press release.

"It has been incorrectly reported that the state of California has studied the efficacy of ballistics databanks and concluded that they are ineffective," the press release said. "That is not so."

> Lockyer, it is clear, did not want to be linked to gun enthusiasts.

In fact, Lockyer said in his release, the potential for solving crimes with a national database "is so significant that the federal government should make it a top national priority to complete the research, overcome any technological obstacles and fully fund the creation and maintenance" of such system. It should, he added, be instituted nationally so police could solve crimes across jurisdictional lines.

So why did there seem a disconnect between the attorney general's statements and the findings of his department?

Lockyer spokeswoman Hallye Jordan was careful to call the study a "step" in the process — not a preliminary study, she insisted, and not a draft. She said the final report is due this spring.

Whether it was a "preliminary" report or a "step" seems a distinction without a difference. Lockyer, it is clear, did not want to be linked to gun enthusiasts who argued that the report supported their belief that such a system would be inaccurate, too expensive, and a dangerous step on the road to national gun registration, and ultimately, government confiscation of guns.

That the findings in this preliminary "step" were never released publicly, nor given to the state Legislature, seems to underscore Lockyer's discomfort with having his name associated with NRA types who rouse suspicion among many Democratic voters.

With that in mind, it should come as no surprise if Lockyer's office this spring releases a "final" study concluding that a national ballistics fingerprinting system is hardly as impractical as his office first thought.

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Reseach by
Public Policy Institute of California

When the sleeping giant is awake

The political participation of California's rapidly growing Latino population is still in the early stages, but it's already changing state elections. In 40 years, when the so-called Sleeping Giant is awake, this unique study says that white voters will still be a major force in ballot decisions. **By Jack Citrin and Benjamin Highton**

Try to imagine California on Election Day, 2040. The Golden State is home to more than 58 million men, women and children — nearly double the number in 1990. It is also so racially diverse that for every Asian in California, there are two whites and three Latinos.

And yet, for all of these demographic shifts projected by the California Department of Finance, the Golden State's voters in 2040 still won't look much like the general population. Indeed, white voters will remain a majority of the California electorate for at least another 40 years unless citizenship and voter participation rates increase. As it stands now, for every Latino who casts a ballot in 2040, there will be two whites.

This is one of the major findings contained in our new study, released to *California Journal* by the Public Policy Institute of California and titled "How Race, Ethnicity and Immigration Shape the California Electorate."

We examined the future California electorate to determine whether the existing gap between the state's electorate and its population will continue to pose a challenge for leaders attempting to foster harmony among rapidly changing ethnic groups. We also explored the reasons behind lower turnout rates among various ethnic groups and found important distinctions among Asian adults.

Finally, regarding Latino votes, the study provides an unprecedented glimpse at the future of the so-called "Sleeping Giant," a common reference to the anticipated political power of California's Latino community.

One of the most important political developments in California during the last decade was the growing number of Latino voters, who began the 1990s as 9 percent of the voting population and grew to 14 percent by 2000. (Note: A *Los Angles Times* exit poll regarding last month's election found Latinos at 10 percent of the 2002 electorate. If that finding is confirmed, it will obviously warrant further attention.)

This study suggests that Latino voting power may very well double in size during the next 40 years, promising a far more significant role in policy decisions and leadership positions for Latinos. At the same time, the study indicates that Latino voters will still be outnumbered by white voters even when they represent a much larger share of the population.

Possible scenarios

As Yogi Berra put it, "Prediction is hard — especially about the future." It would be a heroic task to predict the precise demographic contours of the California electorate 20 or 40 years from now. Our study considered several possible scenarios involving various rates of participation for ethnic groups in California elections. It also considered a range of possibilities regarding the number of immigrants who will become citizens.

Perhaps the most critical question regarding the future of the California electorate is how many of the millions of non-citizen residents who are here now and will arrive in the coming years will become naturalized and thus eligible to vote. This question is also critical to the turnout of Asians, who are significantly under-represented in California elections, but for different reasons than Latinos.

Today, among those of Mexican descent in California,

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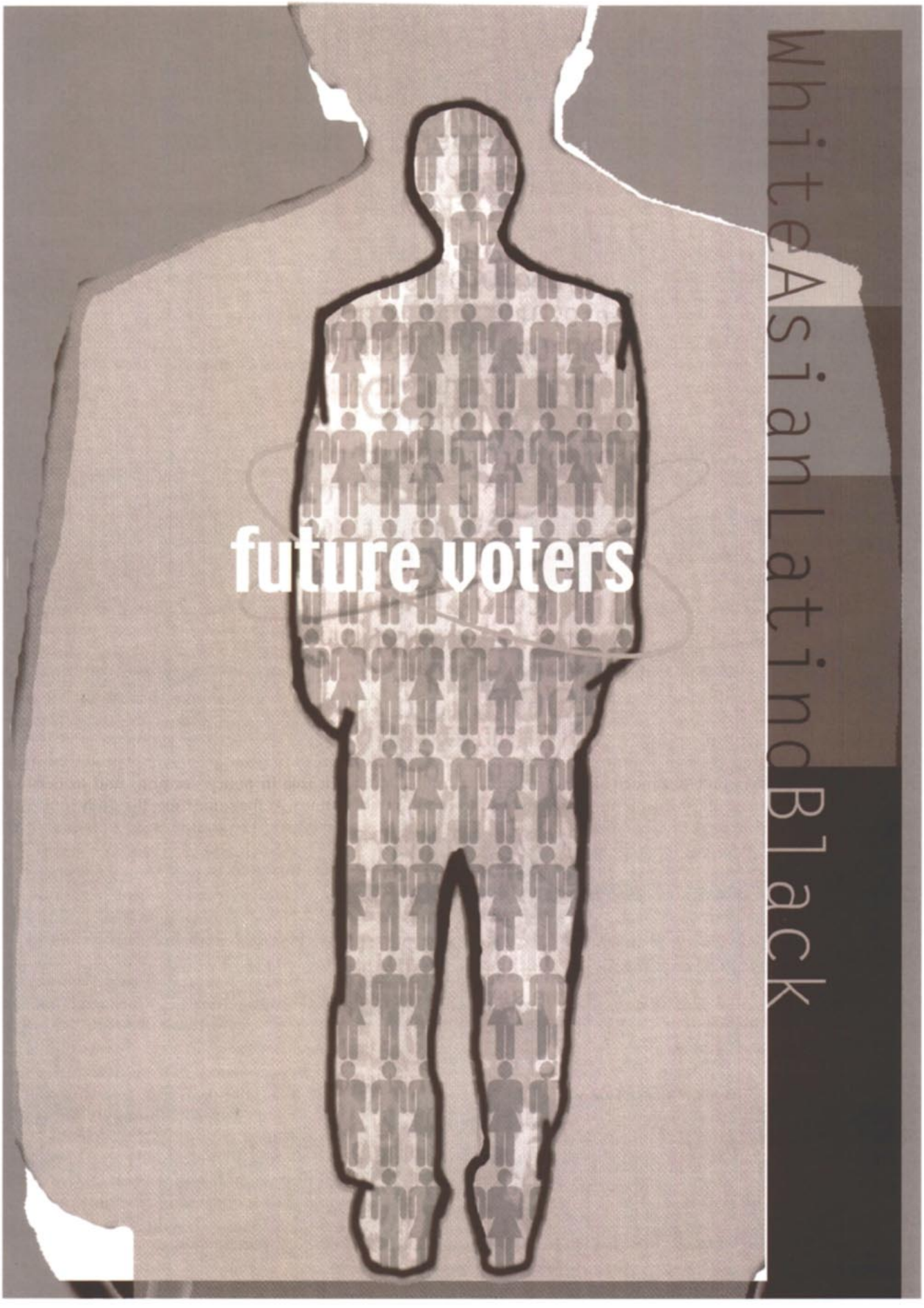

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a little more than half (55 percent) are citizens. Compared to all immigrant groups, those from Mexico are the most likely to reside in America for many years without seeking citizenship. Among immigrants from Mexico who have lived in the U.S. at least 10 years, just 27 percent have become U.S. citizens. Among those who immigrated before 1970, only 54 percent are citizens. And for those who immigrated in the 1990s, less than 10 percent were U.S. citizens by 2000.

Although current trends suggest that the composition of California's electorate will change at a gradual, steady pace over the next 40 years, unforeseen events, policy changes and social initiatives could close the participation gap between minority groups and whites.

But even when we considered a range of citizenship and participation rates, our study found that California's electorate will continue to over-represent whites and under-represent Latinos and Asians when compared to the general population.

For example, if current trends hold, our study indicates that whites would comprise about 35 percent of voting-age adults in 2040, but 53 percent of voters. At the same time, Latinos would comprise more than 40 percent of voting-age adults, but only 26 percent of the electorate.

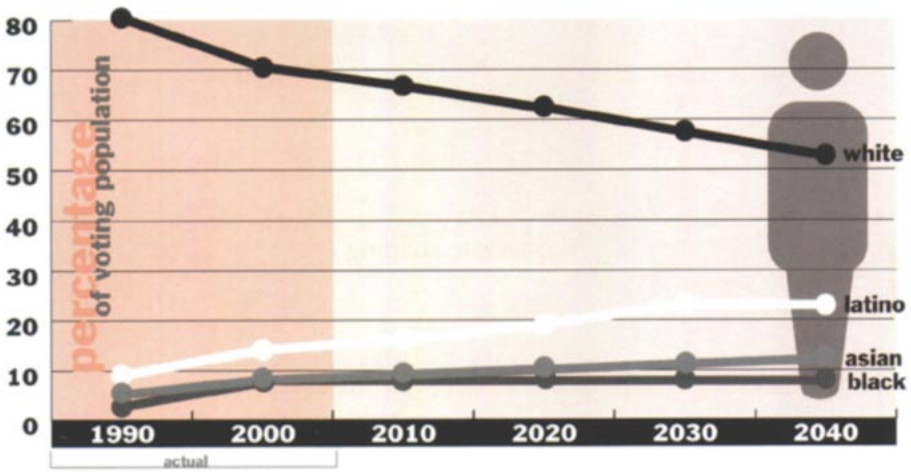
To become the largest group of voters, Latino turnout would need to match that of whites and citizenship rates would need to increase 50 percent. Under this scenerio, Latinos would barely edge whites (39 to 38 percent) among voters. We also considered two other scenarios in which trends in participation and citizenship differ.

If the gap in participation between Latino and white voters was cut in half, but citizenship rates continue unchanged, we predict the 2040 electorate would be 50 percent white, 29 percent Latino, 14 percent Asian and 7 percent black.

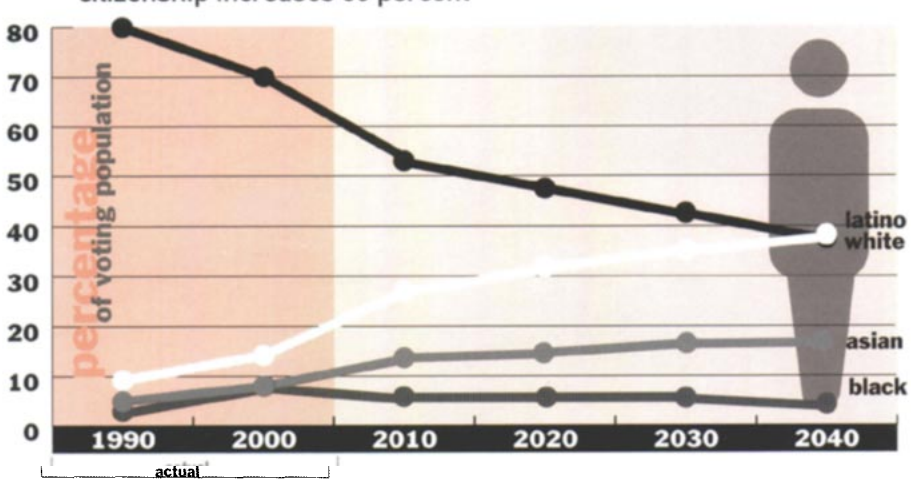
Alternatively, if the citizenship rate increases by 50 percent and participation rates remain unchanged, the 2040 electorate would be 45 percent white, 33 percent Latino, 16 percent Asian and 6 percent black.

Two scenarios: Ethnic makeup of future voters

This scenario assumes that current trends regarding turnout and citizenship continue



This scenario assumes ethnic turnout is equal to whites and citizenship increases 50 percent



Socioeconomic factors

The report's findings are based largely on demographic data collected by the U.S. Census Bureau as part of its Current Population Survey (CPS). We used CPS data from the six November elections between 1990 and 2000.

We focused on the state's four key ethnic groups — Latinos, Asians, blacks, and whites — and considered differences in citizenship, registration and turnout. We then addressed whether group differences in turnout are explained by socioeconomic factors such as age, education, income and residential stability.

Overall today, we found that whites are over-represented in the electorate while blacks are roughly at parity. Latinos and Asians are both under-represented in the electorate compared to the population. More specifically, in today's electorate:

- Whites are 70 percent of the vote, but a bare majority of California adults.
- Latinos make up 14 percent of the electorate and 26 percent of adults.
- Asians represent 7 percent of the electorate and 12 percent of adults.
- African Americans are 8 percent of the electorate and 7 percent of adults.

One of the most important goals of our research was to identify the reasons why minority ethnic groups have lower participation rates than whites. The answer is critical to finding the best methods for improving participation rates and making our electorate more representative.

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Much of the participation gap for Latinos and Asians is explained by citizenship. In other words, a large number of Latino and Asian adults in California are ineligible to vote because they are not citizens. But even among citizens, turnout differences are considerable. Between 1990 and 2000, white turnout was about 10 points higher than that of blacks and 18 points higher than that of Latino and Asian American citizens.

For blacks and Latinos, that remaining voting gap with whites is almost entirely explained by socioeconomic factors such as age, education, income and residential stability. After taking these factors into account, we find only minimal differences in turnout between whites, blacks and Latinos.

Significantly, however, Asian American citizens vote much less frequently than would be predicted on the basis of their socioeconomic status.

Among Latinos, overall we found the lower electoral participation is due almost completely to three factors: citizenship rate, relative youth, and socioeconomic status. Other findings about Latino voting behavior include:

- Eligible Latinos register less frequently than all other groups. In 2000, only 64 percent of Latinos legally eligible to vote were registered, compared to 81 percent of whites, 78 percent of blacks, and 60 percent of Asians.
- The turnout gap between Latinos and whites closed substantially between 1990 and 2000, when a series of racially-charged ballot measures sought to end illegal immigrant benefits, affirmative action and bilingual education. After taking socioeconomic factors into account, Latino turnout was actually greater than that of whites when voters passed Proposition 227 in 1998 to end bilingual education.
- Broadly speaking, length of residence in the country compensates for nativity with regard to turnout. Among California Latinos, turnout among the foreign-born who arrived in the U.S. relatively recently lags behind that of native-born Latinos. However, among the foreign-born Latinos who have resided in the U.S. for longer periods of time, turnout rates are virtually indistinguishable from those of the native-born. (These findings are based on a statistical analysis that takes into account the differences in socioeconomic status across these groups.)
- Regional politics within California — such as the Democratic tilt of Los Angeles and the Bay Area or the Republican climate in rural California — appear to have little relationship to Latino turnout. Any turnout differences across regions are largely accounted for by differences in the socioeconomic and demographic compositions of the Latino populations in each region.

Asian voters

Our findings defy some widely held assumptions: that intrinsic cultural differences explain the voter participation gaps among Latinos and blacks and that the growth of the Latino and Asian electorate will mir-

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ror population trends. It also reveals that various immigrant groups do not assimilate to American political culture in similar patterns.

These turnout differences are not unique to California. A similar pattern emerges in other states with high proportions of foreign-born residents, especially New York, Florida and Texas. In all regions, adjustment for socioeconomic differences sharply reduces the electoral surplus of whites compared to Latinos, but the anomaly of low Asian turnout persists.

The relatively low turnout among Asians, as a whole, is something of a puzzle. Ironically, when it comes to political assimilation, the group often labeled the "model minority" because of educational and professional achievements — factors that in other groups correlate to high voter participation — lags behind Latinos. Although their socioeconomic profile compares to that of whites in California, Asian turnout still lags behind that of whites by more than 20 percent, about the same percentage as the Latino turnout deficit.

Among other findings about Asian voters:

- Four out of five adult Asians in California were born outside the United States. Among these foreign-born Asians, a little more than half have become U.S. citizens. Among all adult Asians in California, the citizenship rate is 59 percent.
- In contrast to Latinos, no single country is the dominant source of immigrants. The 2000 census found 19 percent of California Asians are from the Philippines; 19 percent from China, Taiwan and Hong Kong; 10 percent from Vietnam; 9 percent from Korea, and nearly 7 percent from India.
- There are great differences in citizenship and turnout rates by nation of origin. Among Asian immigrants in California, those born in the Philippines and Vietnam have the highest rates of citizenship (each about 63 percent), followed by the Chinese at 49 percent, Koreans at 40 percent, Indians at 34 percent and Japanese at 27 percent. Among Asian immigrants, we found turnout to be highest among those from the Philippines and Vietnam, too.
- The Asian group that best parlays its size into voting strength are Filipinos. Among adult Asian immigrants in California, about one in four were born in the Philippines. However, due to higher citizenship and voting rates, more than one in three Asian immigrant voters are from the Philippines.
- California Asians appear more politically engaged than those in New York, the only other state with a large Asian minority. In California, the turnout deficit to whites was 18 percent; in New York, it was 29 percent.

The slow pace of Asians' political incorporation invites several hypotheses. One is that the diversity of Asian immigrants makes it difficult to mobilize for political activities. Language difference and organization rivalries may mitigate a sense of collective fate that could stimulate participation. Another factor may be that many Asians arrived from countries lacking democratic traditions. Some political observers say Asians, more than other groups, view economics and not politics as the most effective path to individual and collective achievement.

Recommendations

These findings have significant implications for the future course of policy making in California. Representative democracy is predicated on the belief that a more engaged electorate will produce governance that is more responsive and better reflects the public's interests. Moreover, voting helps immigrants, the main source of California's population growth, become assimilated and fosters social cohesion and loyalty to democratic institutions. In California, where direct democracy through the use of initiative and referenda have become so important, the question of who votes carries particular significance.

Policies to increase the political participation of minority ethnic groups must address not only their levels of turnout but also the rate at which they become citizens. At the most general level, policies that create incentives for legal alien residents to become citizens ultimately will increase the level of voting among Latinos and Asians in both California and the rest of the nation. Immigrants who live in the United States for five years are eligible to apply for citizenship, a time-consuming but not difficult process. Yet many immigrants often live in the United States for decades, paying taxes and raising families, without becoming citizens.

A fruitful approach to boosting the citizenship rate would be an outreach program that stresses the values of full membership in the political community while facilitating the naturalization process for those who are eligible and interested. States, local governments and volunteer organizations can do more to prepare immigrants through English language classes and instructions for the civics test. Just as there are voter-registration drives, private groups can conduct citizenship drives. States could also lobby the federal government to increase staff and technical resources devoted to the naturalization process.

These recommendations are less controversial than some others. For example, requiring citizenship as a prerequisite for public employment, like airport security, would undoubtedly boost the citizenship rate, but it is both normatively suspect and would be politically controversial.

Once citizens, taking steps to register and vote must be addressed. In some cases, civic education and community mobilization efforts might be especially helpful. The key is to provide assistance and motivation for those who need it. This study does not provide a definitive prediction of what the future will look like in California. It is intended as a road map that reveals the course of current trends. Hopefully, it will highlight some of the areas most in need of improvement and also offer some help in finding the best solutions for making California a healthy democracy.

Jack Citrin is a professor of political science at UC Berkeley. Benjamin Highton is an assistant professor of political science at UC Davis. Their study was done for the Public Policy Institute of California in San Francisco.

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Latino turn-off

by Sherry Bebitch Jeffe

Whatever happened to the surging Latino vote? Powered by outrage over harsh GOP rhetoric on immigration and Proposition 187, the 1994 initiative that denied public services to illegal immigrants, Latinos have been increasing their share of the California electorate. That trend was abruptly reversed in November's election. Why? Is this trend line irrevocably altered or is November's dip in Latino turnout merely an aberration?

Turnout statewide was a miserable 50 percent, according to the Secretary of State; that was an historic low and 12 points below the 1998 turnout. Turnout in Los Angeles County, the heart of the new Latino electorate and home to roughly a quarter of the state's voters, was an embarrassing 41 percent; also down 12 points from the 1998 turnout.

It appears Latino voters played a role in this decline. Field Institute data on gubernatorial election years show that the percentage of Latinos in California's electorate rose from 10 percent in 1994, to 13 percent four years later. Latino turnout in 2002 was projected to rise to 17 percent of the electorate. However, *Los Angeles Times* exit polling showed that Latinos actually accounted for just 10 percent of this November's vote—the same low percentage registered before rage over Proposition 187, and a re-energized labor movement, galvanized Latinos politically.

> In Los Angeles, not even the proposed break-up of the city revved up turnout.

Turnout among African-American voters was also down this year. *Times* exit polling found blacks accounted for a mere 4 percent of the state's voters. According to Field, that was down from 7 percent in 1998 and 9 percent in 1994.

Pre-election surveys forecast the dismal turnout. Clear majorities of voters told pollsters they were not satisfied with their choice of candidates for governor. *Times* data also showed 65 percent of the Latino electorate voted for Davis in this election, down from 71 percent in 1998.

Davis political guru Garry South acknowledged at a USC post-election forum that the "centrist" governor "didn't have his base juiced up" and "that affects the level of intensity." Latinos, he argued, were "not turning away from Davis," but were "moving into neutral [approval] territory."

Not on everything. A late October survey by the Tomas Rivera Policy Institute found California's Latino voters "disappointed" by Davis' veto of AB 60, which would have extended driver's licenses to undocumented residents.

In Los Angeles, not even the proposed break-up of the city revved up turnout. Citywide turnout was a paltry 38.6 percent, although in the Valley it was 43.5 percent. However, the Valley traditionally has a higher turnout than the rest of L.A.

Promises of massive get-out-the-vote operations by L.A.'s public employee unions, whose membership is heavily minority and significantly Latino, and by African-American community leaders, which were aimed at defeating San Fernando Valley and Hollywood secession proposals, weren't enough to motivate strong minority turnout.

Nonetheless, there are indications that those Latinos who came out to vote did influence secession-related issues. Although secession received a narrow majority of "Yes" votes in the Valley (The proposal failed because it was voted down two-to-one citywide), in the three L.A. City Council districts in the East Valley with heavily Latino population, support for the breakaway effort ranged from 42 percent to 46 percent.

In the election to choose a mayor for the proposed Valley city — an election nullified by the measure's defeat — GOP Assemblyman Keith Richman was the run-away winner. However, Latino candidates came in second and third, beating out businessman Mel Wilson, the favored Democrat in the non-partisan race. And of the 14 City Council seats that would have been filled, Latinos won five.

So soon after the election, it is not yet clear what all this means. "I think Latinos are affected by the same malaise that is affecting voter participation as a whole," concluded Antonio Gonzalez of the William C. Velasquez Institute, which researches Latino political trends.

Another post-election coda: According to *Times'* exit polling, Republicans split 50-50 on Proposition 49, an initiative to fund before and after school programs, championed by GOP activist and actor Arnold Schwarzenegger. On the other hand, 78 percent of Latino voters supported the proposal.

The Terminator promised, "I'll be back." When Latino voters, and all those other Californians who sat this election out, feel energized and empowered by the electoral process, they'll be back too.

Sherry Bebitch Jeffe is a senior scholar at USC's School of Policy, Planning & Development. Comments may be sent to **edit@statenet.com.**

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The great California road trip

California's $75 billion tourism industry feared the worst after last year's terrorist attacks. One year later, industry leaders credit a unique public-private marketing effort for averting disaster and raising future hopes. Now other states want to copy the idea. **By Lisa Plendl**

A year ago, tourism officials were wringing their hands: The fallout of the September 11 terrorist attacks — and the fear of flying that came with it — threatened to empty the Golden State's parks, resorts and hotels, and transform amusement parks and other attractions into ghost towns. Industry officials braced for the biggest financial disaster of all time.

A year later, they are cautiously counting their blessings. Current statistics reveal a $75 billion-a-year industry that not only staved off a major crisis after the attacks, but one that is bouncing back reasonably well, despite a tighter economy.

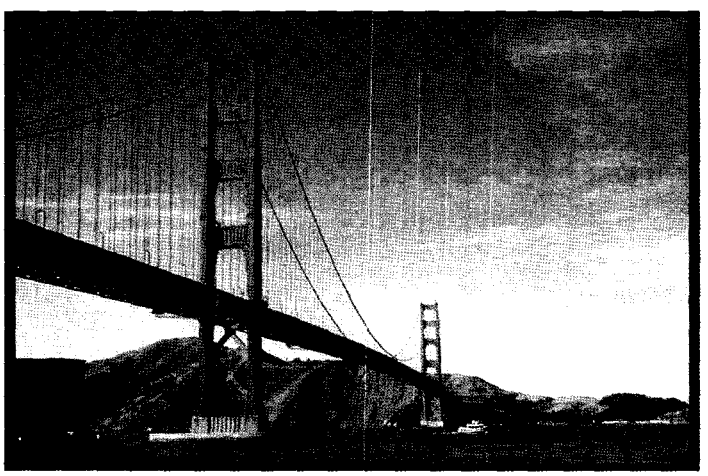
Overall, tourism is still down slightly. But the good news is that California drew a larger share of U.S. tourists than it has previously, reversing a decade-long slide in its domestic "market share." The state's tourism sector also reported 6,000 new jobs this year. And with road trips coming back into style as more Californians opt to stick close to home, even some of the less-visited vacation spots — yes, even Bakersfield — are basking in a small boost in room occupancy and related tourism.

The bad news is that business travel, already suffering from a soft economy, has yet to rebound. Likewise, the number of foreign tourists to the U.S. and California has not returned to its pre-9/11 levels.

Still, state and industry officials say they dodged a bullet. "After 9/11, we were anticipating a 20- to 50-percent drop in travel," said Lon Hatamiya, California's secretary of Technology, Trade & Commerce, the state agency which oversees tourism initiatives. "Right now, it looks like travel might be down by 5 or 6 percent overall for the year."

Unlikely Marriage

That moderate dip is looking pretty good to many industry folks. And given the tax revenue tourism brings to California — $5 billion in 2000 — state officials are relieved, as well. But how did California pull off this



relative success story? Much of the credit is given to a unique five-year-old partnership between the state government and the hotels, restaurants, theme parks and other

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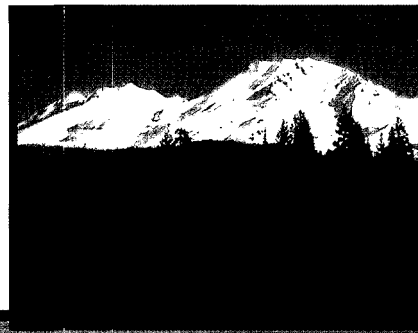
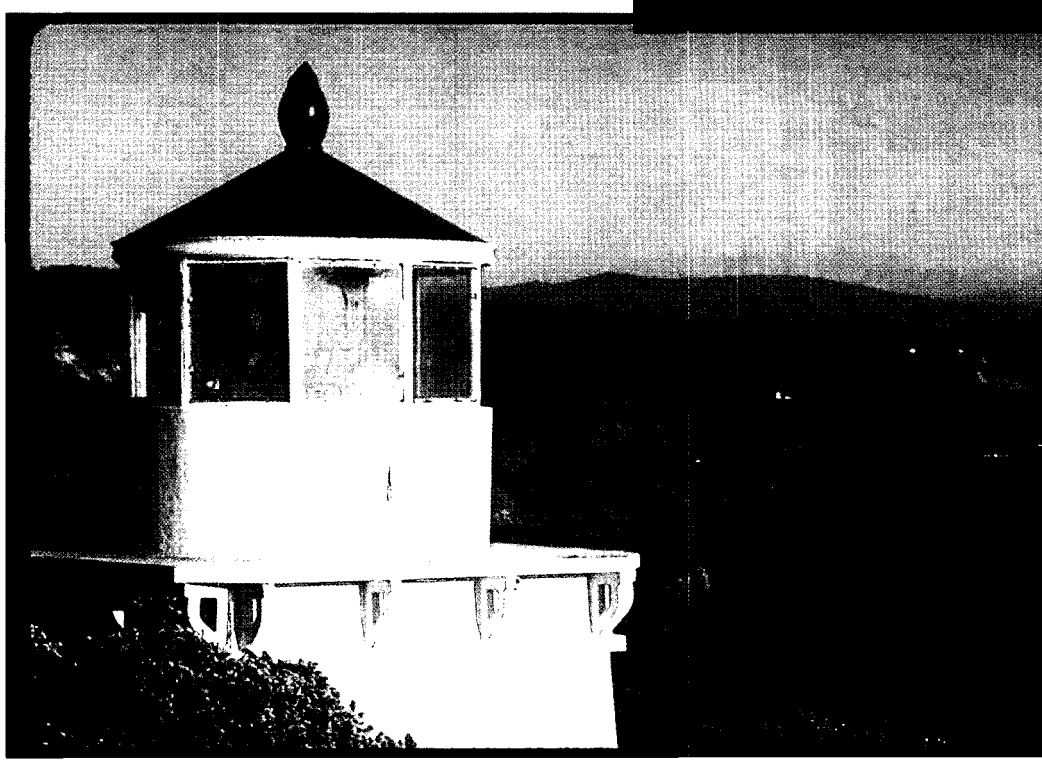
attractions that make up California's tourism industry. It's an unlikely coupling that is now gaining attention as a potential model around the country.

The public-private collaboration that started in 1997 is called the California Travel & Tourism Commission (CTTC). It's a private, non-profit corporation that spends tourism marketing funds chipped in by both the state and the travel industry — a combined $13.3 million each year.





Right: Mt. Shasta; Far right: Disneyland's Sleeping Beauty Castle; Below: Memorial Lighthouse, Trinidad. All photos in this article are courtesy of the California Division of Tourism. Richard Holmes is the photographer.

You may know the CTTC best as the creative juice behind the high-profile television and radio spots that featured screen idols Jack Nicholson and Clint Eastwood, who reminded Californians to explore California after 9/11. Or, you may have discovered the organization's Visit California Web site (www.visitcalifornia.com).

The public-private venture was born out of years of political wrangling over money for tourism and resulting instability that left industry officials expecting much more.

Prior to its creation, and especially between the late '80s and early '90s, funding for tourism promotion hit an all-time low.

Governor Jerry Brown halted spending altogether in the 1970s. Like many others, he felt the state would sell itself when it came to tourism. In the years that followed, the travel industry urged the state to shell out enough cash to support a program that would compete with other states. But annual funding remained spotty at best.

By the early '90s, the state's per-capita tourism promotional spending had sunk to 48th in the nation. At the same time, other states were pumping up their own marketing efforts. If that weren't enough, earthquakes, riots and other disasters in the early '90s gave potential visitors additional reasons to stay away. At its low ebb, the Golden State lost 17 percent of its leisure travel share, state officials say.

"We weren't spending anything to remind people to visit California, and our market share was slipping away," says Jim Abrams, executive vice president of the California Hotel & Lodging Association, a trade organization representing the industry. Hitting bottom, hotel and motel operators lost 3.5 million hotel room nights a year for an annual loss of about $200 million in revenue and $20 million in bed taxes, estimates Abrams, who also sits as a CTTC board member.

Under Governor Pete Wilson's tenure, things got a little brighter. The state began contributing $7.3 million annually for tourism promotion beginning in 1993.

But travel industry officials still envisioned a more competitive program.

Relying entirely on the Legislature had proved a dangerous game. "You can't plan a marketing campaign too far in the future if you don't know if you have any money," Abrams says. So the industry looked to itself.

Looking to agricultural groups such as the Milk Board and California Cheesemakers as models, travel industry leaders pushed for a plan would levy assessments against tourism businesses that grossed more than $1 million a year and garnered at least 8 percent of their sales specifically from tourism. As approved in 1997, the California Tourism Marketing Act requires qualified theme parks, hotels, restaurants and retail outlets to pay $450 into the pot for every $1 million of tourism receipts — for about $6 million a year.

To date, Florida is the only other state that assesses its travel industry. Unlike in California, payment is voluntary in that state.

Headed by Executive Director and marketing whiz Caroline Beteta, and Hatamiya, who also chairs the commission's board of directors, the organization includes 36 industry leaders who sit as appointed or elected commissioners. It shares space with state offices.

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Swinging into Action

When fallout from 9/11 threatened to take down the travel industry, Governor Gray Davis, members of the CTTC and the state pulled together within a week to map a strategy.

Davis convinced Hollywood stars to donate their time for a promotion. Beteta's team persuaded media outlets — television, newspapers and outdoor advertising — to donate time and space, as well. Mering & Associates, a Sacramento advertising firm, was pulled in to create TV commercials.

As part of the strategy, organizers decided to reject the traditional efforts to attract foreign and out-of-state visitors. Instead, they hoped to convince Californians to spend their vacation time in the state.

"We went for the in-state market because we wanted to get Californians traveling," said Abrams. "People were very concerned about flying ... and generating the greatest good for the short term seemed to be in tapping the in-state market, because people could drive to so much of California."

The Technology, Trade & Commerce Agency kicked in $8.5 million. That, along with $5 million originally earmarked for the CTTC's spring 2002 campaign, was used to create the media campaigns. The CTTC parlayed that budget into about $28 million worth of television and radio commercials, print ads and outdoor billboards by convincing media outlets to donate additional advertising. The resulting and much-noted "We're Californians" and "Find Yourself Here" efforts were well received by residents and industry watchers alike.

The first wave of spots, which ran just a few weeks after 9/11, was subtle. Commercials featured a montage of Californians playing, shopping and dining. As the feel-good images played, viewers were reminded, "We're Californians!"

Terri Taylor-Solorio, president and CEO of the California Travel Industry Association, representing the industry at large, said the CTTC scored by avoiding a hard-sell so soon after the terrorist attacks.

"Other states that tried more aggressive campaigns shortly after 9/11 got slammed for it," she said. "So they did a wise job."

The second wave of commercials, which began in November, was more aggressive, reminding denizens to play, shop, explore — and ultimately "Get out there" — with clever nods from Eastwood and Nicholson.

The campaign quadrupled awareness of California as a travel destination among the state's own residents, according to a marketing survey by D.K. Shifflet & Associates. Likewise, the two campaigns boosted travel immediately, generating an additional $3.2 billion in state tourism spending, along with $10.6 million in additional tax dollars, Hatamiya's agency notes.

"The word around the industry about California's campaign was very positive," says Florida-based travel analyst James Cammisa Jr., who publishes Travel Indicators newsletter. "They were smart and they were quick in tapping the drive market. But they weren't all alone out there."

Other states and industry segments also tapped the so-called close-to-home markets. "They all found they were able to replace travelers from more distant markets who flew in, with drive visitors," Cammisa says. "The cruise lines did the same. Rather than the traditional flying of travelers to Florida for a Caribbean cruise, they focused more on domestic ports."

Other industry officials agree the move gave the industry an immediate shot in the arm. "I think it was a fairly brilliant strategy, because when you're faced with an unknown situation — no one knew the potential length of the down turn — you reach out to your known customers," says Don Jaeger, president of the Greater Bakersfield Convention & Visitors Bureau. "They realized there is a huge travel market within California itself — and you couldn't really say that about some other states, such as Nevada."

In addition to shoring up a potentially deep blow to

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one of its largest industries, the marketing efforts of public-private CTTC undid years of damage to California's slumping market share.

Between 1998 and 2001, the percent of all U.S. visitors who came to the Golden state rose steadily from 9.7 percent of all U.S. travel to 11.6 percent — the highest ever for California. By comparison, the closest rival, Texas, chalked up a 6.8 percent share in 2001. Even 2 percentage points translates into billions of dollars in additional spending by tourists and hundreds of millions in tax dollars.

"People are aware of our advertising and that we're out there encouraging people to take a trip within California," Beteta says. "We've moved the needle in terms of quadrupling awareness."

Above: Rafting on the Stanislaus River; Right: Santa Barbara Mission; Far right: Fresno Blossom Trail.

And others are taking note. Beteta has appeared on industry panels to discuss California's unique partnership. Likewise, she's sought after by industry leaders in other states. "They do marvel at the collaboration that we've been able to pull together. Other states want to know how to apply what we've done to their situation," she says.

The post 9/11 campaigns weren't the first smart move the private-public partnership made. The CTTC has a history of doing much with limited funds. Among it's most creative efforts included producing the IMAX film, "Adventures in Wild California." The film, which plays on a screen eight-stories high, serves as a travel poster for the Golden State, having played in 75 cities on five continents. Marketers determined the audience for such films also fit the same demographic profile of people who travel extensively.

CTTC's team secured $500,000 in seed money to shoot the project, then leveraged that into $35 million in essentially free advertising by partnering with airlines, newspapers, theaters and others to cross-promote the film and related travel. And with 14 additional hours of footage left over, the commission created a three-part series broadcast on the Discovery Channel.

"We had to think outside the box," Beteta says. "You have to get really creative to break through the clutter of traditional advertising. People typically see 1,500 messages a day."

But despite the track record, challenges undoubtedly lie ahead. For one, assessments collected during this cycle will be down because of the dip in travel spending. And Abrams fears legislators may eye the state's $7.3 million travel contribution to help shore up the state's budget crisis. He says they may not appreciate the return on investment.

"CTTC figures show that for every dollar of state tax money spent, the state gets back $12. That's 1,200 percent return on investment. You don't find that anywhere else," he said.

By contrast, industry members see the value, he says. They voted by an overwhelming margin last year – 86 percent — to renew the Marketing Act and continue paying assessments.

Getting Out There

So where are we now? "The sentiment is that there are segments of the travel industry which are rebounding much better than others," says the travel industry's Taylor-Solorio. "Everyone is predicting that it will be the same next year. It'll be a cautious year, with a slow amount of growth."

But two things are clear: attractions that traditionally rely on foreign visitors and business travelers — the city of San Francisco, for example — are struggling more than others. Rural and other vacation spots, especially those near national and state parks, are reveling in a small to moderate boost in tourism.

Elsewhere:

• Los Angeles experienced a 3.7 percent dip in hotel occupancy through July, while Sacramento was down just 1.5 percent. San Diego's occupancy was flat. And places like Santa Barbara, Bakersfield, Riverside, and San Bernardino attracted an increase of visitors — typically 3 percent or less. On the high side, San Luis Obispo boasted a 6 percent boon. San Francisco, however, weathered a 13 percent drop in occupancy this year through August. But

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the year's final quarter figures should look more encouraging, says Kelly Chamberlin, public-relations manager for the city's convention and visitor's bureau. "Of course, our occupancy dropped way off in September of last year, so this year's September figures should be much higher."

• More than 85 million travelers sojourned to state parks such as Big Sur, Red Rock Canyon and 70 other natural preserves during the fiscal year ending in June. The previous year, just under 79 million visited the same parks, said Steve Capps, a state parks spokesman. Some of the credit goes to the industry's promotion effort, but Governor Davis also sliced park fees in half over the past two years.

• Annual tallies for this year's amusement park attendance has not been calculated, but "total attendance will probably be up in 2002," said Tim O'Brien, a senior editor at *Amusement Business*, a trade magazine that monitors the industry. "But the top 10 parks will probably be down." Attractions that rely heavily on foreign visitors, such as Disneyland, will bear the brunt, while more regional parks are seeing an overall boost in attendance, he said.

In March, look for a new CTTC campaign that continues to promote in-state and regional tourism.

CTTC officials are banking on a more traditional branding strategy positioning the Golden State "as a fun place that is kind of wacky, and very eclectic," Beteta says. The ads will urge potential visitors to experience our unique culture, as well.

Likewise, the commission will continue to push road trip vacations — albeit with a modern spin. The Auto Club of Southern California says requests for destination maps and other driving directions by local members increased by more than 24 percent during the first eight months of 2002, compared with the same time period last year.

In that vein, the commission recently launched "The Best of California Driving Tours" a campaign highlighting 28 scenic road trips — most focusing on historic or geographic themes, such as "The Old West," "Desert Delights," and "Steinbeck Country and Coastal Resorts." Most of the 500,000 free trip booklets have been snapped up through the CTTC's Visit California Web site and from local British Petroleum service stations. A second printing is planned.

The CTTC is also revving up for a new road-trip campaign: "101x1." The theme is California's most historic route — Highway 101 — and side trips and attractions within one mile of the coastal highway.

Of course, no one knows whether this renewed interest in exploring California's great wonders by car will be remain a long-term trend, or quick fix until Californians feel safe enough to stray further from home.

But in the spirit of promoting California, CTTC chairman Hatamiya may have a point: No matter where you live in California, you can "drive an hour and be in some of the greatest places on earth."

Lisa Plendl is a freelance writer in Long Beach, California.

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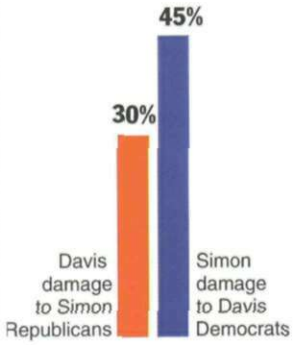
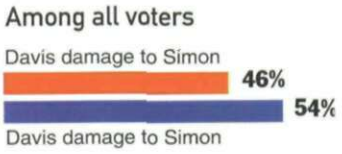
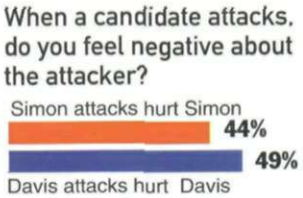
Simon Was Winning the TV Battle

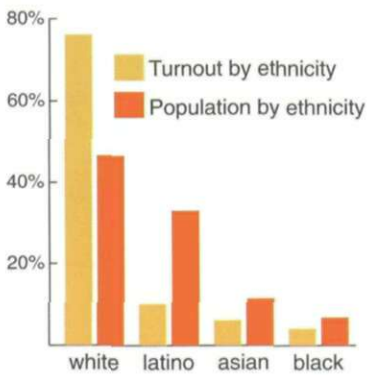
This unique survey, taken in the final days before the election, looked at the effect of various campaign tactics. It suggests one reason for the unexpectedly close governor's race is that Bill Simon's television ads were hurting Gray Davis among his Democratic supporters 50% more than Davis' attacks were hurting Simon in his Republican base. One explanation is that Democrats are probably more disgusted by Simon's attack about excessive fund raising than Republicans are turned off by business scandals in Davis' accusations. But it makes you *wonder what would have happened if* Simon wasn't outspent 2-to-1.





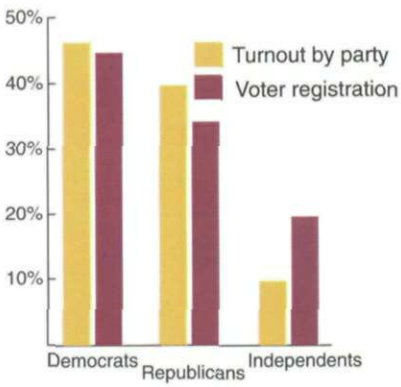

When a candidate attacks, do you feel negative about the attacker?
Simon attacks hurt Simon
44%
49%
Davis attacks hurt Davis

The 2002 Electorate



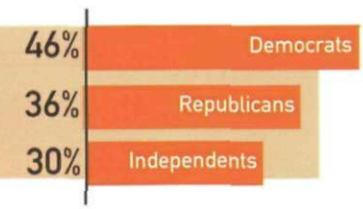
Source: LA Times, U.S. Census

The most important story about this year's election is not just who won—it's who voted. The political makeup of the electorate shows why this race was closer than expected. Republicans voted in proportions higher than their share of the state's registered voters, Democrats about the same and indpendents sharply lower. The more troubling long-term question concerns ethnicity, as white voters far exceeded their share of the population and all other groups fell short.

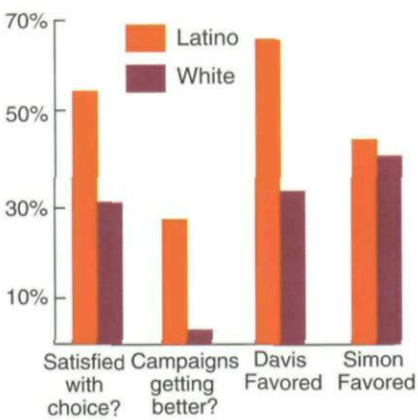


Source: LA Times, Ca. Secretary of State

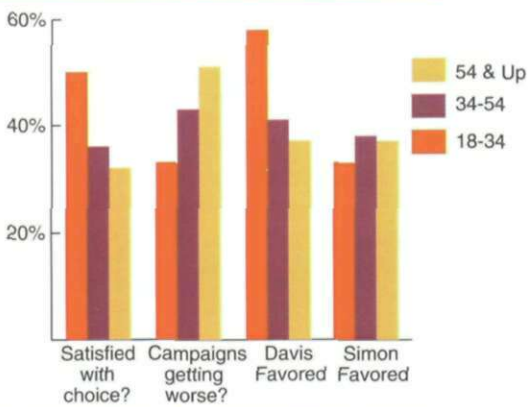
Satisfied with this choice?: Independent voters, defined as those registered outside the two major parties, are a crucial swing vote in California. Their low turnout in this race is explained by their unhappiness with the choices.



The Newest Voters: Latinos/Youth



Turnout among youth and Latinos dropped in this race along with other groups. Now, the question is whether the *drop represents a long-term trend.* The survey suggests these new voters may be more easily tuned off, but also resil*ient.*



This survey contacted 2000 California adults including 1526 registered voters 10/28-11/4. Its error rate is +/-2% for adults and +/- 2.5%. It was directed by Mark Baldassare and sponsored by the Public Policy Institute of California in collabortaion with the Institute for Governmental Studies. It was funded by the Pew Charitable Trusts.

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"One of the biggest needs of all communities, including Indian communities, is finding a solution to violence. The long-term solutions must promote living a balanced life in terms of philosophy, respect and self-discipline."

Joseph A. Myers

Raja Rahim

"Prevention and intervention must happen on various levels. Women need to be educated, batterers need to be educated, and our communities need to be educated about the effects that domestic violence has on our children."

Preventing Violence: Creating Healthy Communities

"School violence is violence that occurs on a school campus, but it's really community violence. School safety is just one of the components of a meaningful solution. Family, community and peer groups need to be brought in as well."

Wayne Sakamoto

the California Peace Prize 2002

The California Wellness Foundation

UNSUNG HEROES SAVING LIVES

The California Wellness Foundation is proud to honor its 2002 California Peace Prize awardees: Joseph A. Myers, Raja Rahim and Wayne Sakamoto. Each will receive a $25,000 grant to acknowledge their work to prevent violence. Distinguished by their impressive personal and professional accomplishments, these creative leaders have improved the health of their communities and demonstrated through their actions that violence can be prevented. To learn more about their work and the Foundation, visit ***www.tcwf.org.***

Joseph A. Myers, Petaluma. Through the National Indian Justice Center, an organization he helped create, Myers works with tribes and state and local agencies to support and promote sovereignty. His work includes assisting the development of tribal legal codes for domestic violence, child abuse and neglect, and juvenile justice. Myers' efforts improve the health and safety of tribal communities throughout California.

Raja Rahim, San Francisco. Drawing from her Muslim faith and personal experiences as a survivor of sexual abuse and domestic violence, Rahim works both professionally and on a volunteer basis to prevent violence. As the domestic violence liaison for the Greenbook Project, she uses her skills as counselor, advisor, organizer and policy advocate to help create healthier and more peaceful communities in San Francisco.

Wayne Sakamoto, San Diego. An advocate of youth development, Sakamoto believes that empowerment is a key to prevention. At the San Diego and Riverside County Departments of Education, he has touched the lives of thousands of youth by creating and directing innovative programs such as Project Courage, School Community Policing and Partnership, and Gang Risk Intervention and Mentoring.

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